Unit 10 : Indian National Movement (Part 02)

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Topics To Be Covered

- Revolutionary Extremism
- Important Acts of Revolutionary Extremism
- First World War and Indian National Movement
- Ghadar Movement
- Home Rule Movement
- The Home Rule Programme
- Lucknow Pact
- Gandhian Phase : Gandhi in South Africa
- Evolution of Gandhian Ideas
- Gandhiji's Initial Movements in India
- Rowlatt Act
- Khilafat Movement
- Non-Cooperation Movement
- Indian National Movement From 1922 - 1927
- Civil Disobedience Movement
- Roundtable Conferences

Revolutionary Extremism

"The Extremists of today will be Moderates tomorrow, just as the Moderates of today were Extremists yesterday." - Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Revolutionaries Within India (First Stage)

- Maharashtra ⇒ Chapekar Brothers
    - Savarkar Brothers
- Bengal ⇒ Anushilan Samiti
    - Yugantar
- Punjab ⇒ Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh)

Extremists from Outside India

- **Shyamji Krishna Varma** started the Home Rule Society in London in 1905. Revolutionaries such as Savarkar and Hardayal became members of this association.

Shyamji Krishna Varma's monthly Indian Sociologist became an outlet for nationalist ideas. He also became the first President of the Bombay Arya Samaj.

- **Madam Bhikaji Cama**, a Parsi revolutionary who had earlier worked as Dadabhai Naoroji's secretary. She developed contacts with French socialists.
- In 1915, the **Berlin Committee for Indian Independence** was established 1915 by Virendra Nath Chattopadhyay, including Bhupendra Nath Dutt and Lala Hardayal, under the **Zimmerman Plan** with the full backing of the German foreign office.
- The Indian revolutionaries also sent missions to Baghdad, Persia, Turkey, and Kabul to receive support from them. **Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, Barkatullah, and Obaidullah Sindhi** went to Kabul to organize a 'provisional Indian government.'

Important Acts of Revolutionary Extremism

- **Muzaffarpur Conspiracy:** Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw bombs at a carriage believed to be occupied by Magistrate Douglas Kingsford (District Judge), but instead killed two women.
- **Bomb Factory:** In April 1908, a secret bomb-manufacturing factory was set up in the Maniktala area of Calcutta.
- **Anushilan Samiti:** Formed in 1902, the Anushilan Samiti was a secret society that promoted revolutionary ideas. Prominent members included Promotha Mitter, Jatindranath Banerjee, and Barindra Kumar Ghosh.
- **Yugantar Group:** An inner circle developed within the Anushilan Samiti, with Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendranath Dutta as active members. They started a weekly journal named Yugantar, which

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greatly influenced people with its revolutionary ideas. Eventually, this inner circle came to be known as the Yugantar Group.

First World War and Indian National Movement

The First World War started in 1914 between the alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary (Central Powers) versus the Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia. It helped in the maturing of Indian nationalism.

World War I (1914-1919) - Short Summary:

- World War I began in 1914 after a Serbian nationalist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria. At the time, Austria had taken control of Bosnia, which many Serbs considered part of Greater Serbia.
- In response to the assassination, Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia supported Serbia, while Germany backed Austria. Soon, more countries joined: Britain sided with Russia (which later existed) and Serbia. Since India was under British rule, it was also drawn into the war.
- During the First World War, most Indians supported the British war efforts except the Ghadar Party, which aimed to overthrow British rule in India.

Response of Indians

- **Moderates:** Although the British unilaterally declared India a participant in the First World War, the moderates supported the Empire's war efforts out of a sense of duty and loyalty.
- **Extremists:** Extremist leaders, including Bal Gangadhar Tilak, supported the war effort under the mistaken belief that Britain would acknowledge India's loyalty by granting self-government after the war.
    - **Notes:** Bal Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced to a six-year prison term in 1908 on charges of sedition, based on articles published in his newspaper Kesari. He served this sentence in Mandalay, Burma (now Myanmar).

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- **Revolutionaries:** The revolutionaries saw the war as an opportunity to intensify their struggle against British rule and aimed to use the situation to liberate the country.

Ghadar Movement

- The Ghadar Movement was an international **political movement** founded by expatriate Indians to overthrow British rule in India, with its **headquarters at San Francisco** and branches along the US coast and in the Far East.
- **Aim:** The plan of Ghadarities was encouraged by two events in 1914
    - Komagata Maru incident
    - Outbreak of the First World War

THE KOMAGATA MARU INCIDENT
Japanese ship Komagata Maru, carrying 376 south Asian immigrants, sailed into Vancouver harbour on May 23, 1914
Most passengers were from Punjab, mostly Sikhs, escaping British rule in India
After being docked for 2 months, passengers denied entry due to immigration laws then, and sent back
When they disembarked in Calcutta, British soldiers opened fire killing at least 19, and jailing others
Keeping an election promise, Trudeau said he will offer a formal apology
"WE FAILED THEM UTTERLY... THAT IS WHY, NEXT MONTH, ON MAY 18, I WILL STAND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND OFFER A FULL APOLOGY FOR THE KOMAGATA MARU INCIDENT"
CANADIAN PM JUSTIN TRUDEAU
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Fig: The Komagata Maru, a Japanese ship carrying over 370 Indian passengers, sailed from Hong Kong to Canada, stopping at various ports. Upon reaching Vancouver, the passengers were denied entry. A Shore Commission ruled that Sikhs would not be allowed to disembark, forcing the ship to return to India after two months. When it arrived at Budge Budge port near Kolkata, British authorities again denied entry. As passengers resisted forced relocation, police opened fire, killing several.

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- The Ghadarites fixed **February 21, 1915,** as the date for an armed revolt in Ferozepur, Lahore and Rawalpindi garrisons.
- **Leaders of the Ghadar Movement:** Major leaders of the movement were Lala Hardayal Ramchandra, Bhagwan Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba, Barkatullah, and Bhai Parmanand.
    - Rash Behari Bose was another prominent member.
- **Strategy and Action:** The Ghadar programme was to organise assassinations of officials, publish revolutionary literature, work among Indian troops stationed abroad and bring about a simultaneous revolt in all British colonies.
- **Government Response:** The British were aware of the activities of Ghadarites and took immediate action against them by using Dthe efence of India Act, 1915.
    - Rebellious regiments were disbanded and around 45 people were hanged.

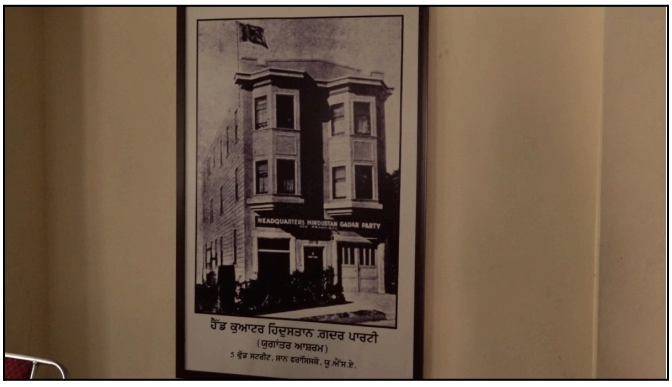

Fig: A photo of the Hindustan Ghadar Party Headquarters displayed at the Desh Bhagat Yadgar Hall, Jalandhar.

Hindustan Ghadar was a newspaper started by a revolutionary group to promote freedom for India. They also published a weekly collection of patriotic poems and songs called Ghadar ki Goonj.

The first issue of the newspaper carried a bold message:

- **Wanted:** Brave soldiers to stir up revolution in India
- **Pay:** Death
- **Prize:** Martyrdom

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- **Pension:** Liberty
- **Field of Battle:** India

The newspaper shared stories of martyrs, rebel leaders, and the 1857 revolt. It also educated Indians living abroad about their rights and the need for justice and equality. Within a few months, the party had around a thousand members, and more people kept joining.

Significance of the Ghadar Movement

- **Promoted Nationalism:** They gave a fillip to the feeling of nationalism among the Indian population against British colonial rule.
- **Popularisation of the True Nature of Colonial Rule:** The Ghadarites' critique of colonialism and the understanding that Indian poverty and backwardness were a consequence of British rule.
- **Secular Outlook:** This movement was secular in nature as Punjabi Sikh immigrants worked with Hindus and Muslims to fight against British rule.
- **Egalitarian Outlook:** Ghadar ideology was egalitarian and democratic in content. Their aim was to set up an independent republic in India.

Reasons for Failure

- **Limitations in the Organisational Structure:** The Ghadar movement lacked a strong organisational structure. It underestimated the extent of preparation required at every level, like organisational, ideological, financial and tactical.
- **Non-Realistic expectation from the Masses:** They overestimated the level of readiness of the movement from the response that they evoked in the immigrant Indian community. They also underestimated the strength of the British Empire.

Home Rule Movement

- The Home Rule movement was the Indian response to the First World War as leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant wanted to

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popularize **self-government or home rule** for all of India within the British Commonwealth **along the lines of the Irish Home Rule League.**

Factors Responsible for the Beginning of Home Rule Leagues

- **Disillusionment with the Government Reforms:** The Indian leaders were disillusioned with the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, as they did not provide Home Rule as was expected.
- **Sufferings and Miseries of People:** People were facing the burden of wartime miseries caused by high taxation and rise in prices and that is why they wanted to participate in a broad movement to pressurise the British Raj.
- **Myth of White Superiority Exposed:** The First World War exposed the myth of white superiority as it was fought amongst the white powers for their imperialist gains.
- **Readiness of Indian Leadership:** Indian leaders like Tilak (released from jail in 1914) as well as Annie Besant, decided to build a movement for home rule on the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues.

The Leagues

- **Two Leagues:** In 1916, two Home Rule Leagues were launched: -one by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the other by Annie Besant.
- **Not Merged:** They did not merge their Home Rule Leagues as their support base was different.
- **Tilak's League:** Indian Home Rule League
    - **Set Up:** April 1916
    - **Headquarters:** Poona
    - **First Meeting Held:** Belgaum
    - **Geographical Spread:** Worked in Maharashtra (except Bombay), Karnataka, Berar, and the Central Provinces.
    - **Branches:** Had six branches
    - **Demands:** Swaraj (self-rule), formation of linguistic states and education in the vernacular.
- **Annie Besant's League:** All India Home Rule League

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- **Set Up:** September 1916 in Madras (present-day Chennai)
- **Geographical Spread:** Rest of India (excluding Tilak leagues' areas) ,including Bombay city
- **Branches:** 200 branches that were loosely organised as compared to Tilak's league
- **George Arundale** served as the organizing secretary of the league. The main contributors to the league's work were **B.W. Wadia and C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar**.

Annie Besant

- Annie Besant first arrived in India in November 1893. She had joined the Theosophical Society in May 1889. She later published two newspapers—New India and Commonweal—which promoted the ideals of the Home Rule movement.
- Annie Besant was selected as the first woman president of the Indian National Congress in 1917.
- **Why She Supported the Indian Cause:** Personal Reasons
  - Annie Besant's personal life, particularly her unhappy marriage to a conservative clergyman, was a crucible that forged her unshakeable belief in individual liberty and human rights.
  - Besant's Irish heritage provided her with a natural and profound sympathy for the Indian cause, as she saw a direct parallel between the struggles of Ireland and India against the same imperial power.

Theosophical Society

- The Theosophical Society was founded by Madam H.P. Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott in New York in 1875.
- The aim of the society was to promote universal brotherhood, explore ancient wisdom, and study comparative religion, philosophy, and science—especially focusing on Eastern religions and spiritual traditions.
- Blavatsky and Olcott later moved to India and established

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the international headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, near Madras (now Chennai).

The Home Rule Programme

- **Aim:** Convey the message of Swaraj to the common man.
- **Various Methods:** The various methods incorporated by the Home Rule League included public meetings, organizing libraries, holding conferences, organising classes for students on politics, carrying out propaganda through newspapers and pamphlets and participating in local government politics.
- **Support from Other Leaders:** The Home Rule agitation was later joined by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, Madan Mohan Malviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Lala Lajpat Rai.
- **Non-Supporters:** It did not get the support of Anglo-Indians, the majority of Muslims and non-Brahmins from South India.
- **Response of Government:** The government came out with severe repression and Annie Besant was put under another house arrest in 1917.
- **Mass Protests:** It led to nationwide protests and Annie Besant was released in September 1917.

Significance of the Home Rule Movements

- **Transition to Gandhian Style Struggle:** The Home Rule Movement marked a transition towards the Gandhian phase as it involved mass support from self-government.
- Home Rule Leagues were created in different parts of India and they strengthened organisational structure for the national movement.
- **Regional Leaders:** The movement created a network of regional leaders which was used effectively by Gandhi for mass movement.
- **Reforms from the British:** The movement led to the August 1917 declaration of Montagu which promised self-government in the long run.

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- Montford reforms were influenced by the Home Rule agitation.

- **Moderates and Extremists Reunion:** The efforts of Tilak and Annie Besant led to unity among moderates and extremists at Lucknow in 1916 and it revived the strength of Indian nationalism.

Decline of the Home Rule Movement

- **Moderates Pacified from British Reforms:** The moderates got pacified by talk of reforms in Montagu's statement of August 1917 and they no longer participated in the Home Rule Movement as they thought the objective was achieved.
- **Absence of Tilak:** The movement became leadership when Tilak went abroad in September 1918 to fight a case against Valentine Chirol whose book, Indian Unrest, had featured Tilak as responsible for the agitational politics.
    - **Annie Besant** was caught up in oscillation between being satisfied with the government's talk of reforms and pushing the home rule movement forward. She was not able to provide firm leadership to her followers.
- **Entry of Gandhi and Gandhian Techniques:** In 1920, Gandhi accepted the presidency of the All India Home Rule League, and changed the organisation's name to 'Swarajya Sabha'. Within a year, however, the league joined the Indian National Congress.
    - **Note:** Gandhi used these Home Rule Leagues in Rowlatt Satyagraha, 1919.

Lucknow Pact

- The Lucknow Pact was signed in 1916 between Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 to present a joint front against British rule.

During this time, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was given a special title of "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" by Sarojini Naidu.

Key Features

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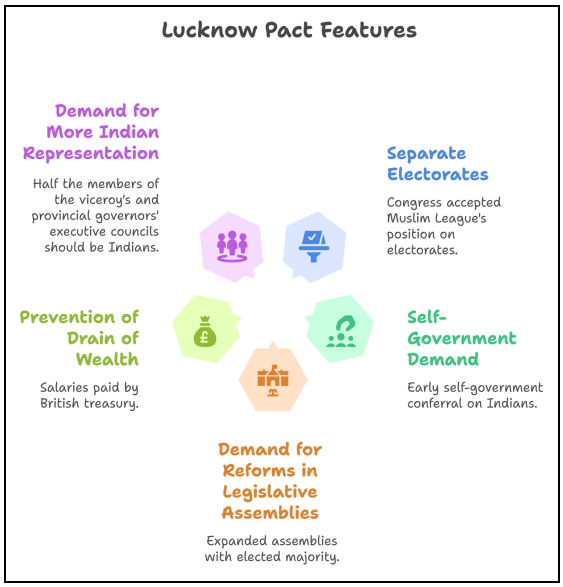
Lucknow Pact Features
Demand for More Indian Representation
Half the members of the viceroy's and provincial governors' executive councils should be Indians.
Separate Electorates
Congress accepted Muslim League's position on electorates.
Prevention of Drain of Wealth
Salaries paid by British treasury.
Self-Government Demand
Early self-government conferral on Indians.
Demand for Reforms in Legislative Assemblies
Expanded assemblies with elected majority.

Significance of the Lucknow Pact

- **Hindu-Muslim Harmony:** It established a cordial relationship between the Muslim League and the INC and promoted Hindu-Muslim League.
- **Allaying Fears of Minorities by the Congress:** It allayed the fear of minority communities by the INC as they accepted the principle of separate electorates.
- **Initiated Political Enthusiasm:** It initiated political enthusiasm as both Hindus and Muslims were on the same page

Limitation

- The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates by the Congress implied that the **Congress and the League came together as separate political entities**.
- This was a major landmark in the evolution of the **two-nation theory** by the Muslim League.

Gandhian Phase : Gandhi in South Africa

"You gave us Mohandas Gandhi; we returned him to you as Mahatma Gandhi."
- Nelson Mandela

- **1869:** Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar, a princely state in Kathiawar. He came from an affluent family.

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- **1893:** Gandhi traveled to South Africa to work on a legal case involving Dada Abdulla, a prominent Indian merchant.
- **Experiencing Racism:** During his journey from Durban to Pretoria, Gandhi encountered racial discrimination. Notably, he was thrown off a train at Pietermaritzburg for refusing to leave a first-class compartment, despite holding a valid ticket.
- **1894:** Gandhi opposed the Natal Assembly Bill, which sought to disenfranchise Indians by denying them the right to vote.
- **1894-1906: Moderate Phase of Struggle:** During this period, Gandhi adopted constitutional methods such as petitions, public speeches, and journalistic writing to raise awareness about racial injustice faced by Indians in South Africa.
- **1899-1902:** Gandhi organized the Indian Ambulance Corps to assist the British forces, believing that demonstrating Indian loyalty might help secure civil rights.
    - For his services, he was awarded the **Kaisar-i-Hind medal** by the British government.
- **Extremist Phase (1906-1915):** Gandhi's approach shifted from petitions to non-violent direct action, marking a more assertive phase in his struggle for justice.
- **January 1915:** Gandhi returned to India, bringing with him valuable experience and strategies that would later shape the Indian freedom movement.

Practice Question

- "The beginning of the First World War gave a new lease of life to India's national movement." Comment.

Evolution of Gandhian Ideas

- **John Ruskin:** Gandhiji was included in John Ruskin's book **'Unto This Last.'** He establishedthe Phoenix farm on the basis of his ideas and it led to the rise of the idea of Satyagraha.
- **Leo Tolstoy:** Gandhiji's idea of non-violence was influenced by Leo Tolstoy and from his book The Kingdom of God is Within You.'

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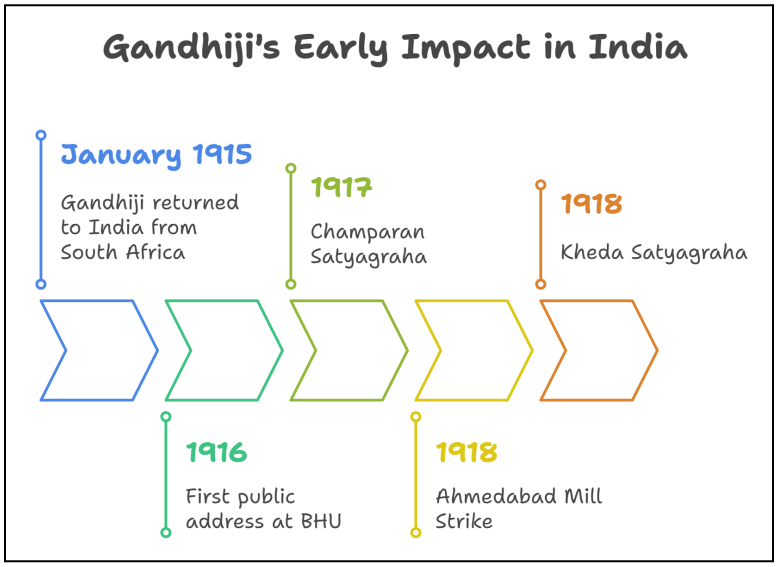
- **Henry David Thoreau:** Gandhiji learnt the idea of civil disobedience from Henry David Thoreau

Henry David Thoreau's 1849 essay "Resistance to Civil Government," also called "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" or simply "Civil Disobedience," is an explanation of how and why he spent a night in jail for refusing to pay his poll tax as a protest against the Mexican-American war and the institution of slavery.

- **Jainism:** Gandhiji's way of living was influenced by the ideas of Jainism.

Gandhiji's Initial Movements in India



- **1915:** Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa in January 1915 and was given a warm welcome due to his work in South Africa.
- **First Public Address:** His first public address was at BHU in 1916, in which he said that unless the masses are awakened, India will not be free.

- **Advice of Gokhale:** The moderate leader Gokhale was Gandhi's political Guru. He wanted Gandhi to join the Servants of India Society. But Gandhi could not become its member because some

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members of the society strongly opposed his entry. Gokhale had extracted a promise from Gandhi that he would not express any opinion or political matters for a year.

- **Following Gokhale's Advice:** Keeping his vow, Gandhi spent 1915, and most of 1916 touring India and visiting places as far as Sindh and Rangoon, Banaras and Madras.

- Initially, Gandhiji participated in
  - **1917:** Champaran Satyagraha
  - **1918:** Ahmedabad Mill Strike
  - **1918:** Kheda Satyagraha
  - **Note:** Gandhiji's goals aligned with those of the Moderates, and he adopted the methods of the Extremists, which made him a national leader of the Indian National Movement and enabled him to work with both groups.

Pravasi Bhartiya Diwas (Non-Resident Indian Day)

January 9: 9th January was selected to celebrate Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas (PBD) as it was the date when Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915.

2015 Revision: Since 2015, the centenary year of Gandhi's return, the format was revised for the meeting to be held once every two years.

Champaran Satyagraha, 1917

- **Background:** Commercialisation of agriculture was rampant in the state of Bihar, especially in the Champaran district. European planters forced peasants to grow indigo on 3/20th of their land. The farmers of Champaran were not gaining any benefit from this system. As a result, Raj Kumar Shukla met Gandhiji and requested him to visit Champaran.

Tinkathia System

Indigo was cultivated under the system called Tinkathia, by which a tenant had to cultivate indigo at three-twentieths of his holdings, which generally constituted the best portion of the land. Planters

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always forced them to sell their crop for a fixed and usually uneconomic price.

- **Synthetic Indigo:** European planters demanded high rent and illegal dues from the farmers as the plantation of indigo was becoming unprofitable due to the invention of German synthetic dyes.
- **Other Supporters:** Gandhiji went to Champaran and he was assisted by Rajendra Prasad and J. P. Kriplani.
- **First Individual Act of Civil Disobedience:** Government authorities ordered Gandhiji to leave the region of Champaran, but he refused to follow such an order.
- **Impact:** Finally, the government realised the plight of farmers of Chaparan and a committee was created to look into the matter. Gandhiji was also nominated as a member of this committee.
- **Significance of Champaran Satyagraha - First Civil Disobedience**
    - **The Champaran Agrarian Act of 1918** was passed and it brought some respite for the peasants and imposed certain restrictions on the planters.
    - Gandhiji convinced the authorities for the **abolition of the Tinkathia system** and **25% of the money** taken from the farmers was **compensated**.

Ahmedabad Mill Strike, 1918

Gandhi believed in class cooperation and not class struggle like Karl Marx.

- **Background:** In Ahmedabad, the mill owners wanted to withdraw the plague bonus, which had been given to workers in addition to their wages. The mill owners were willing to offer only a 20% wage increase, but the workers demanded a 50% raise to cope with wartime inflation.

- **About Ahmedabad:** Ahmedabad was emerging as the foremost industrial city in Gujarat. However, mill owners frequently encountered labour shortages and had to offer high wages to attract sufficient workers.

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- **Plague Outbreak:** In 1917, a plague outbreak exacerbated the labour shortage as many workers fled Ahmedabad for the countryside. To prevent workers from leaving, mill owners introduced a 'Plague Bonus,' which could be as high as 75% of the workers' regular wages.
- **Demands of Laborers:** Once the epidemic ended, mill owners decided to stop the Plague Bonus. The workers resisted this decision, arguing that the bonus helped them cope with the wartime increase in the cost of living.

- **Strike and Call for Gandhiji:** This led to the beginning of a strike in Ahmedabad, and Gandhiji's help was sought by Anasuya Sarabhai.
    - **Anasuya Sarabhai** was a social worker and the sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, one of the mill owners and the President of the Ahmedabad Mill Owners' Association.
- **Hunger Strike:** Gandhiji had meetings with both workers and mill owners and when a compromise could not be reached, he started a fast unto death.
    - **Note:** For the first time, a hunger strike was used.
- **Impact:** The mill owner submitted this issue to a tribunal and this tribunal awarded a 35% wage hike.

Kheda Satyagraha, 1918

- **Background:** There was a major reduction in the yield of crops in the Kheda region and as per the Revenue Code, the farmers were entitled to remission. The government authorities tried to collect the taxes in a rigid manner and the properties of farmers were confiscated if the taxes were not paid in time.
    - The **'revenue code'** provided for a total remission if the crops were less than twenty five per cent of the normal production.
- **Gandhiji and Patel:** Gandhiji became the spiritual head of the struggle but the major groundwork was done by Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

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- **Impact:** Finally, the government agreed to suspend the tax collection for the year and reduce the rate for the next year and return all the confiscated property.

Significance of Movements in Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda:

- **Entry of Masses in broader National Movement:** These movements brought peasants and workers into the fold of the national movement
- **Making of Gandhiji as a Mass Leader:** These movements made Gandhiji a popular leader, and his methods of civil disobedience, hunger strike as well as non-cooperation gained acceptance among the masses.

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Rowlatt Act

During the early 20th century, the British used a "carrot and stick" approach in India—offering limited reforms while imposing harsh controls.

- Carrot ⇒ Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (Government of India Act, 1919)
- Stick ⇒ Rowlatt Act (1919)

- **Introduction:** The Rowlatt Act was passed in March 1919. Its official name was the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act. It was drafted by the Sedition Committee led by Sidney Rowlatt.
- **Opposition Overruled in Council:** All the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council voted against the bill, but they were in a minority and were easily overruled by the official nominees.
- **Provision of the Rowlatt Act**
    - The act allowed **political activists to be tried without juries** or even imprisoned without trial.
    - It allowed the **arrest of Indians without a warrant** on the mere suspicion of 'treason'. Such suspects could be tried in secrecy without recourse to legal help.
    - A **special cell consisting of three high court judges** was to try such suspects and there was no court of appeal above that panel.

- **Possession of seditious newspapers** was accepted as adequate **evidence of guilt** under the act.
- The law of **habeas corpus was suspended.**
- The **wartime restrictions** on freedom of speech and assembly **were made permanent** in India.

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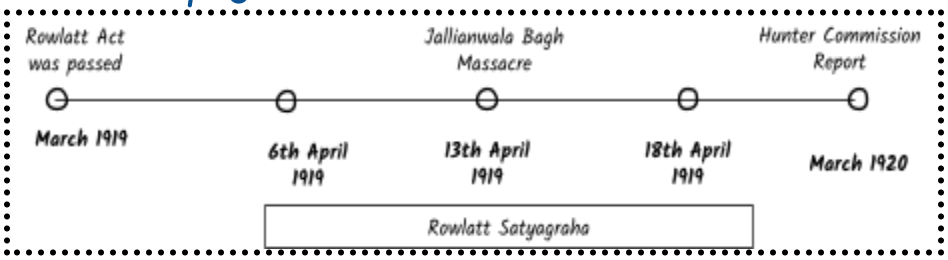
Rowlatt Satyagraha



- **Gandhiji's Take:** Gandhiji termed the Rowlatt Act as 'Black Act' and decided to launch Rowlatt Satyagraha on April 6, 1919.
- **Protests:** Before the launch of this Satyagraha, large-scale, violent, anti-British demonstrations started in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, and Ahmedabad. Punjab was even more explosive with respect to demonstrations.
- **Actions Taken by Gandhi:** Gandhi organised a Satyagraha Sabha and roped in younger members of the Home Rule Leagues and the Pan-Islamists.
- **Participation of the Masses:** The Rowlatt Satyagraha succeeded in creating a storm against the British, which took the character of a mass movement.
- **Gandhiji's Role in Mainstream Politics:** This movement also helped Gandhiji in gaining the central stage of national politics and commanding a standing in the Congress.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

"I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have come back again and laughed, and I would have made, what I consider, a fool of myself...I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed...It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect...not only on those who were present, but

more especially throughout the Punjab." - Dyer when he was called before the Hunter Commission

- **9 April 1919:** Two nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal, were arrested by the British officials without any provocation except that they had addressed protest meetings, and taken to some unknown destination.
- **10 April 1919:** This caused resentment among the Indian protestors who came out in thousands on April 10 to show their solidarity with their leaders.
- **Violent Protests:** The protest turned violent and the police resorted to firing, in which some of the protestors were killed. In the riots, five Englishmen are reported to have been killed.
- **Government's Response:** Troops were sent immediately to quell the disturbances. Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer was the senior British officer with the responsibility to impose martial law and restore order in Punjab.
- **13 April 1919:** Dyer imposed martial law, which forbade people from leaving the city without a pass and from organizing demonstrations or processions, or assembling in groups of more than three.
- **Day of Massacre:** On Baisakhi day (13th April), a large crowd of people mostly from neighboring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the city, gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh, a popular place for public events, to celebrate the Baisakhi festival.
    - The troops surrounded the gathering under orders from General Dyer and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd. No warning was issued, no instruction to disperse was given.

According to official British Indian sources, 379 were identified dead, and approximately 1,100 were wounded. The Indian National Congress, on the other hand, estimated more than 1,500 were injured, and approximately 1,000 were killed. But it is precisely known that 1650 bullets were fired into the crowd.

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- **Reactions of Indians:** The entire nation was stunned. Gandhi withdrew the Rowlatt Satyagraha on April 18, 1919.
    - Guru Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood in protest. Gandhi gave up the title of Kaiser-i-Hind.

Hunter Committee

- **Purpose:** The Hunter Committee was constituted to investigate the disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and Punjab, examine their causes, and the measures taken to cope with them.
- **Indians in the Committee:** There were three Indians among the members, namely, Sir Chimanlal Harila Setalvad, Pandit Jagat Narayan, and Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan.
- **Dyer was Not Penalised:** This committee gave its report in March 1920. The committee condemned Dyer's actions but did not impose any penal or disciplinary actions.
- **Indemnity Act:** The government passes the Indemnity Act for the protection of its officers. This act was termed as 'white washing bill' but Motilal Nehru.

Khilafat Movement

- **Introduction:** The Khilafat movement in India arose out of the sentiments of the Indian Muslims to protect the institution of the Khalifa in Turkey. The Sultan of Turkey was held in great esteem by the Indian Muslims as the Caliph (or Khalifa).
- **Defeat of Turkey in World War I:** After the defeat of Turkey in the First World War, the Treaty of Sèvres was imposed on it, which affected the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the institution of the Caliph.
- **Response of Indian Muslims:** In 1919, the Khilafat Committee was created by Ali Brothers (Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali), Maulana Azad, Ajmal Khan and Hasrat Mohani to force the British government to change its attitude towards Turkey.
- **Opportunity Seen by Gandhi:** Gandhiji got associated with the All India Khilafat Conference in November 1919. He started discussions with the

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leadership of Congress to start a united non-cooperation against the British government.

- **Stand of Congress:** The Congress was divided over the Khilafat issue as it was a religious issue. Gandhiji projected this as a golden opportunity to cement Hindu-Muslim unity and to channelise the participation of the Muslim masses into the National Movement.
- **Stand of Muslim League:** The Muslim League also supported the stand of Congress in this regard.
- **End of Khilafat Movement:** The withdrawal of Non-Cooperation was a severe blow to the Khilafat Movement.
    - **Abolition of the Ottoman Empire:** The Turks themselves, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, first abolished the Ottoman sultanate in 1922 and then did away with the office of the Khalifa itself in 1924. This ended the Khilafat Movement in India.

Non-Cooperation Movement

The Non-Cooperation Movement was started by Gandhiji on August 1, 1920, to revoke cooperation with the British Raj and was aimed at achieving Swaraj.

- **Factors Leading to the Beginning of the Movement:**
    - Rowlact Act
    - Jallianwala Bagh massacre
    - Failure of the Hunter Commission to punish General Dyer
- **Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms:** The Government of Act, 1919 also created discontent among various sections of society as it did not introduce self-government.
- The imposition of the Treaty of Sèvres and Gandhiji's participation in All India Khilaft Conference also became the factors behind the **joint launching of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement.**
- **Events of the Movements**
    - **Calcutta Session in 1920:** At the special session at Calcutta in September 1920 approved the programme of non-cooperation till Punjab and Khilafat wrong were removed and Swaraj was established.

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- **Nagpur Session:** In December 1920, the goal of Congress was shifted to the attainment of swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means.

Scope and Spread of the Movement

- **Nationalist Educational institutions:** Thousands of students left government schools and colleges and joined around 800 national schools and colleges.
  - These educational institutions were organised under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Dev, C.R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai and others
- **Giving up on Legal Practices:** Many lawyers gave up their practice, such as Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel, among others.
- **Boycott:** Foreign goods were boycotted. The import of foreign clothes fell by half.
- **Tilak Swaraj Fund:** Tilak Swaraj Fund was created and Rs. 1 crore was collected.
- **No-Tax Campaigns:** The Congress gave a call to local bodies to start civil disobedience if it was thought that the people were ready for it. A non-tax was active in parts of Bengal and Andhra Pradesh.
- **Strikes and Demonstrations:** Strikes were organized in tea plantations, steamer services and Assam-Bengal railways.
  - J.M. Sengupta was a prominent leader in these strikes.
- **Inspired Other Struggles:** Non-cooperation movement inspired multiple struggles in different parts of India like Awadh Kisan Movement (UP), Eka Movement (UP), Mappila Revolt (Malabar) and the Sikh agitation for the removal of corrupt mahants in Punjab.

Participation of the Masses

- **Middle Class:** People from the middle classes led the movement at the beginning but later they showed a lot of reservations about Gandhiji's programme. The response to the call for resignation from the government service, surrendering of titles, etc., was not taken seriously.

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- **New Leaders:** Leaders like Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhbhai Patel became household names during the non-cooperation movement.

- **Business Class:** Economic boycott received support from the Indian business group because they had benefited from the nationalist's emphasis on the use of Swadeshi. However, many remained skeptical of labour unrest in their factories.
- **Peasants:** Peasants' participation was massive in nature. This created an immense pressure on landlords and moneylenders.
- **Women:** Women came out in support in large numbers and offered their ornaments for the Tilak fund. They also took active part in picketing shops selling foreign cloth and liquor.
- **Students:** Students left government schools in large numbers and joined national schools and colleges.
- **Hindu-Muslim Unity: The** Non-cooperation movement marked by Hindu-Muslim unity. In many places more than two-thirds of the total arrested were Muslims and such kind of participation was not seen in the past.

End of the Movement

- **Chauri Chaura Incident:** On February 5, 1922, police used heavy repression and it led to violent steps by the masses, where they attacked the police station and set the police building on fire. In this event at Chauri Chaura, 22 policemen were killed.
- **Response of Gandhi:** Gandhiji decided to withdraw the movement and to rectify the same Bardoli Resolution was passed.

The accused in the Chauri Chaura incident were defended by Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Assessment of the Non-Cooperation Movement

- **Mass Participation:** The movement mobilized people across all sections—peasants, workers, students, women, artisans—spreading nationalism widely and deeply.

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- **End of Colonial Superiority Myth:** It shattered the illusion of British invincibility, building mass confidence through non-violent struggle and Satyagraha.
- **Push for Social Justice:** Gandhiji brought issues like caste discrimination and untouchability into national focus, paving the way for future constitutional reforms.
- **Peasant and Worker Uprisings:** The period saw numerous local movements, particularly in Awadh, Mewar, and Bihar, indicating growing grassroots activism.

Limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement

- **Abrupt Suspension:** The sudden end in 1922 disappointed many and caused divisions within Congress, allowing the British to intensify repression.
- **Political Pacifism:** After the movement's suspension, political inertia set in and lasted until the arrival of the Simon Commission in 1928.
- **Leadership Crisis & Disillusionment:** With Gandhiji imprisoned and no clear political direction, public morale declined, and doubts about non-violent methods grew.
- **Hindu-Muslim Unity Broke Down:** The artificial Hindu-Muslim unity disappeared fast. Acute Hindu-Muslim tensions and the outbreak of communal violence dissipated national energies.
- **Failure to Build Secular Unity:** While many urban Muslims participated, leaders failed to transform religious consciousness into a broader, secular national identity, which later fueled communal politics.

Indian National Movement From 1922 - 1927

Swarajists

- **Who Were Swarajists?:** After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement, some leaders proposed that the Congress should enter the legislatures and carry the idea of non-cooperation into them. These leaders came to be known as the Swarajists.
- **No-Changers:** The ideas proposed by the Swarajists were opposed by Gandhian leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, and

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Vallabhbhai Patel. This group was termed the "No-Changers," as they wanted the Congress to follow Gandhi's Constructive Programme.

- **Gaya Session of INC:** This disagreement between the No-Changers and the Swarajists intensified and became a major issue at the Gaya Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1922.
    - C.R. Das resigned as President.
- **Congress-Khilaft Swaraj Party:** On December 31, 1922, C.R. Das announced the formation of the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party, with himself as President and Motilal Nehru as one of the Secretaries.

Aims of the Swaraj Party

- Attaining dominion status
- Obtaining the right to frame a constitution
- Establishing control over the bureaucracy
- Obtaining full provincial autonomy
    - This was because the system of dyarchy was introduced at the provincial level by the Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.
    - **Dyarchy:** Provincial subjects were divided into "reserved" and "transferred" categories.
        - **Reserved Subjects:** These were administered by the governor through his executive council of bureaucrats and included areas like law and order, finance, and land revenue.
        - **Transferred Subjects:** These were administered by ministers nominated from among elected members of the legislative council, including areas like education, health, agriculture, and local government.
    - **Note:** The Government of India Act of 1935 abolished the dyarchy system in provinces and introduced provincial autonomy.
- Attaining Swarajya (self-rule)
- Getting people the right to control government machinery
- Organizing industrial and agricultural labour

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- Effective Control over the local and municipal bodies

Significance of Swaraj Party

- Swarajists **contested elections** as a separate group within the Congress party.
- The Swaraj Party **won 42 out of 104 seats** to the Central Legislature in 1923.
- They **boycotted all official functions** and receptions held by the government.
- They **voiced their grievances and aspirations** in the Legislative Assembly.

Swaraj Party and its Achievements

- For the first time an Indian, **Swarajist Vithalbhai Patel** became **speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly** in 1925.
- They **outvoted the government** many times in matters related to budgetary grants.
- They were able to **defeat the Public Safety Bill in 1928**.
- They exposed the **weaknesses of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms** of 1919.
- They gave **fiery speeches in the Assembly** on self-rule and civil liberties.

Decline of Swarajists

- **Absence of Broad Ideology:** The Swaraj Party lacked a strong and cohesive ideological foundation. This led to internal rifts and defections within the party.
- **Rising Communalization:** The increasing communalization of politics narrowed the ideological gap between the Swarajists and the Hindu Mahasabha. As a result, many Swarajist leaders began pursuing short-term political gains rather than long-term objectives.
- **Class Character:** The party largely represented the upper-middle-class elements of the Congress. Its constitutional approach to politics failed to exert effective pressure on the British Raj.

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No-Changers

Constructive Work by No Changers

- **Use of Khadi:** Steps were taken to popularise the use of charkha and khadi.
- **Education:** National schools and colleges were set up where students were trained in a non-colonial ideological framework.
- **Socio-Economic Initiatives:** Significant work was done for Hindu-Muslim unity, removing untouchability, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor and for flood relief.
- **Backbone of Civil Disobedience:** The constructive workers served as the backbone of civil disobedience as active organisers.

Limitations of Constructive Work

- **Limited Reach to Masses:** Their work largely benefited the urban lower middle classes and did reach the majority of the masses.
- **Unaffordable Khadi:** The promotion of Khadi became difficult as it was costlier than the imported cloth.
- **Less Focus on Economic Issues:** The constructive programme usually focused on social issues and did not cater to economic issues such as grievances of the landless and agricultural labourers.

Civil Disobedience Movement

Simon Commission (Indian Statutory Commission), 1927

Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 as per the provisions of Government of India 1919.

- **Background:** The Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919. According to the Act, a review of the constitutional reforms was to be carried out after ten years. The appointment of the Simon Commission, with John Simon as its chairman, was a result of this clause.

- **Members:** The Commission had seven members – all of whom were British. No Indian was included in the Commission.
- **Response by Indians:** The exclusion of Indian members outraged the Indian public and leaders. Many saw it as an insult and a clear indication that the path to Swaraj (self-rule) was still being controlled by foreigners.
- **INC Madras Session, 1927:** In December 1927, the Indian National Congress met in Madras under the presidency of M.A. Ansari. At this session, the Congress officially decided to boycott the Simon Commission.
- **Parties That Did Not Boycott:** While most major Indian political groups boycotted the Commission, including the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League, some parties chose to cooperate. The Unionist Party in Punjab and the Justice Party in South India did not participate in the boycott.

Public Response

- **Mass Demonstrations:** Massive demonstrations were held across the country, particularly in Bombay in February 1928. The famous slogan "Simon Go Back" was coined by Yusuf Meherally. Wherever the Commission went, it was greeted with black flags and this slogan.
- **Youth Participation & Heavy Police Repression:** Youth participation was notably high during these protests. In response, the British administration resorted to heavy police repression to curb the unrest.
- **Death of Lala Lajpat Rai:** In Punjab, a major protest was led by Lala Lajpat Rai. During a peaceful demonstration in Lahore, he was brutally lathi-charged by the police, which led to fatal injuries. He died in November 1928. His death became a turning point and fueled revolutionary sentiments, particularly among youth.
- **Bhagat Singh's Revenge:** In retaliation for Lala Lajpat Rai's death, Bhagat Singh and his associates assassinated British police officer Saunders, mistaking him for James Scott, the officer responsible for the lathi charge.

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Aftermath

- The Simon Commission gave its report in early 1930 on the basis of its recommendation Three Roundtable Conferences were organized.
- On the basis of Roundtable Conferences, the Government of India Act was passed in 1935.

Nehru Report, 1928

"...let them [Indians] produce a constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India..." - Lord Birkenhead, then Secretary of State for India.

- **Background:** The Nehru Committee was formed in response to a challenge by Lord Birkenhead, the British Secretary of State for India, who stated that Indians were incapable of drafting a constitution. He declared that if Indians could draft a constitutional framework, it would be considered by the British government.
- The committee included members from multiple political parties and presented its report in **August 1928.**

Major Recommendations

- **Dominion Status** rather than Purna Swaraj (complete independence).
- **Joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims** at both the center and in the provinces.
- Full protection of the **cultural and religious rights of minorities.**
- A **responsible government** at the center and in the provinces.
- **Secularism**—complete separation of religion from the state.
- **Fundamental rights** for Indian citizens.
- Support for **universal adult suffrage.**

Response Towards Nehru Report

- The **Muslim League was alienated** as the report did not incorporate suggestions made in the Delhi Proposals.

Delhi Proposals

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The Delhi Proposals, formulated in 1927, were a set of four political demands put forward by a group of Muslim leaders in Delhi. These demands were:

- Joint electorates in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims
- Representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their population
- Formation of three new Muslim majority provinces Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier.

- The **Hindu Mahasabha** opposed the idea of creating new Muslim-majority provinces.
- The Muslim League eventually rejected the report. In response, **M.A. Jinnah presented his famous Fourteen Points**, which became the basis for future negotiations.
    - A federal constitution with residuary powers to provinces.
    - Provincial autonomy.
    - No constitutional amendments without the consent of the states.
    - Adequate representation for Muslims in all legislatures.
    - One-third representation for Muslims in central and provincial cabinets.
    - Separate electorates for Muslims.
    - Demand for Purna Swaraj.

Congress Response & Shift Toward Purna Swaraj

- **Calcutta Session, 1928:** At the Calcutta Session (1928), the Indian National Congress resolved that if the British government did not accept the Nehru Report within one year, the Congress would adopt Purna Swaraj as its goal.
- **Lahore Session, 1929:** When the British failed to respond positively by 1929, the Lahore Session of Congress (1929) formally adopted Purna Swaraj as its objective.

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- Gandhiji was given full authority by Congress to start a mass movement against the British government.

Civil Disobedience Movement

- Before launching the movement, Gandhiji gave the British government an ultimatum. On **January 31, 1930**, he presented 11 demands and warned that if they were not met, a nationwide civil disobedience movement would begin.
- **11 Demands of Gandhiji:**
    - Reduce expenditure on Army and civil services by 50%
    - Release political prisoners.
    - Reduce land revenue by 50%.
    - Abolish salt tax and the government's salt monopoly.
    - Introduce textile protection.
    - Carry out reforms in the Criminal Investigation Department (CID).
    - Introduce total prohibition of Liquor and Intoxicants.
    - Change Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of firearms licences.
    - Accept Postal Reservation Bill.
    - Reduce rupee-sterling exchange ratio
    - Reserve coastal shipping for Indians.
- These demands were not accepted by the British government and therefore Gandhiji started a civil disobedience movement.

Beginning of the Movement - Dandi March

- **Plan of Action:** Gandhi informed the viceroy regarding his plan of action on March 2, 1930.
- **Start of Dandi March:** On 12th March Gandhi began historic Dandi March to the Gujarat seashore where on 6 April he publicly violated the salt law.

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- **Gandhi's Message To People:** The violation of the law was seen as a symbol of the Indian people's resolve not to live under British-made laws and therefore under British rule.

Why Salt?
Gandhiji chose salt as a focal point for his movement primarily because it was a universally essential commodity, making it difficult for the British to implement a "divide and rule" strategy by targeting specific groups. The salt tax affected everyone, regardless of religion, caste, or social class, creating a shared sense of injustice that united people across different divides.

Spread of Civil Disobedience Movement

The movement's expansion showed the maturity of Indian leadership.

- **Tamil Nadu:** C. Rajagopalachari led a Salt March from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore coast (April 1930).
    - Followed by widespread picketing of foreign cloth shops and a strong anti-liquor campaign in Coimbatore and Madura.
    - Despite Rajaji's efforts to maintain non-violence, clashes and police repression occurred.
- **Malabar (Kerala):** K. Kelappan (future founder of the Kerala Vaikom Satyagarha) led the salt march.
    - P. Krishna Pillai defended the national flag during a police lathi-charge in Calicut (Nov 1930).
- **Andhra Region:** Salt marches organized in East & West Godavari, Krishna, and Guntur.
    - Sibirams (temporary camps) set up as movement headquarters.
    - Support from merchants and Kamma/Raju cultivators, though mass participation was limited compared to 1921-22.
- **Orissa:** Led by Gopalbandhu Chaudhuri.
    - Salt Satyagraha was effective in Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri coastal areas.

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- **Assam:** Movement weakened due to internal divisions between Assamese and Bengalis, Hindus and Muslims, and tensions over immigration from East Bengal.
    - **Notable Success:** Student strike against the Cunningham Circular (May 1930), which banned student political participation.
- **Bengal:** Strong movements in Midnapur, Arambagh, and rural areas around Salt Satyagraha and Chaukidari tax protests.
- **North-West Frontier Province (NWFP):** Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (also known as Frontier Gandhi) mobilized Pathans through educational and social reform.
    - Founded the 'Khudai Khidmatgars' (Red-Shirts), a non-violent volunteer force pledged to the freedom struggle.
    - Started the political monthly 'Pukhtoon'.
- **United Provinces (U.P.):** No-revenue campaign urged zamindars to refuse revenue payment to the British.
    - The No-rent campaign encouraged tenants to withhold rent from zamindars (many of whom were pro-British).
    - The movement gained momentum in Agra and Rae Bareli from October 1930.
- **North-East India:** Rani Gaidinliu, a 13-year-old Naga spiritual leader, led a revolt inspired by her cousin Haipou Jadonang.
    - She declared, "We are free people, the white men should not rule over us."
    - Urged people to stop paying taxes and refuse British labor.
    - Arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment; released by the Interim Government in 1946.
    - The title of Rani was given to her by Jawaharlal Nehru.
- **Dharasana (Gujarat):** On May 21, 1930, Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib, and Manilal Gandhi led a peaceful raid on the Dharasana Salt Works.
    - Protesters were brutally lathi-charged, gaining international attention.
    - Inspired similar actions in Wadala (Bombay), Sanikatta (Karnataka), Andhra, Midnapore, Balasore, Puri, and Cuttack.

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- **Surat:** In a creative protest, children dressed in khadi outfits colored like the national flag.
    - These "living flags" marched proudly, frustrating police attempts to confiscate flags.

Social Base of the Movement

- **Women:** Women played a very important role in the Civil Disobedience Movement by picketing outside liquor shops as well as shops selling foreign cloth. It was a liberating experience for them, as the movement marked their entry into the public sphere.
- **Students:** Students played a significant role by boycotting foreign cloth, organizing flag marches, and protesting against British authority.
- **Merchants and Traders:** Merchants and traders participated enthusiastically, especially in Tamil Nadu and Punjab.
- **Tribals:** Tribal participation was prominent in the Central Provinces, Maharashtra, and Karnataka.
- **Workers and Peasants:** Workers participated in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sholapur, etc., while peasants were active in the United Provinces, Bihar, and Gujarat.
- **Muslims:** Muslim participation was not as significant as during the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements. However, in certain areas like the NWFP (North-West Frontier Province), there was overwhelming participation.

Government's Response

- The government passed ordinances to **ban civil liberties**.
- **Lathi charges and firing on unarmed crowds** were carried out by government authorities, and thousands of satyagrahis, along with **Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, were imprisoned.**
- The **Simon Commission** Report was also published, and it made **no mention of dominion status.**

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Lord Irwin was the Viceroy of India.

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- The government released Congress leaders on January 25, 1931 in order to convince them to participate in the Second Round Table Conference.
- The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement along with acceptance of certain Congress demands.
- Gandhi-Irwin Pact was endorsed by Congress in its Karachi Session on March 29, 1931.
- **Proposed Condition by Congress:** Discontinuation of the civil disobedience movement by the Indian National Congress.
    - Participation by the Indian National Congress in the Second Round Table Conference.
    - Withdrawal of all ordinances issued by the British Government imposing curbs on the activities of the Congress.
    - Withdrawal of all prosecutions relating to several types of offenses except those involving violence.
    - Release of political prisoners for participating in the civil disobedience movement.
    - Removal of the tax on salt, which allowed the Indians to produce, trade, and sell salt legally and for their own private use.
    - Public Inquiry into police excesses.
    - Commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrade's death sentence to life sentence.
- **Points Agreed by Irwin:** Immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence.
    - Remission of all fines not yet collected.
    - Return of all lands not yet sold to third parties.
    - Lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned.
    - Right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption (not for sale).
    - Right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing.
    - Withdrawal of emergency ordinances.
- **Rejected by Irwin:** Public Inquiry into police excesses

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- Commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrade's death sentence to life sentence.

Bhagat Singh, along with Shivram Rajguru and Sukhdev, were sentenced to death by the British government on October 7, 1930, for their involvement in the Lahore conspiracy case. They were hanged on March 23, 1931, at the Lahore Jail.
The Lahore conspiracy case was regarding the murder of British police officer John Saunders in 1928.

Roundtable Conferences

The Round Table Conferences were a series of three conferences organized by the British government between 1930 and 1932 to discuss constitutional reforms in India.

- **First Round Table Conference:** It was organised from November 1930 to January 1931.
  - This was boycotted by Congress even though it was attended by Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and others.
  - Could not get any fruitful result and that is why the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed to ensure participation of Congress in the Round Table Conference.
- **Second Round Table Conference:** Congress nominated Gandhiji as their sole representative.
  - **Location:** Held in London
  - **Time Period:** September 1931 - December 1931
  - **Deadlock Over Separate Electorate:** The session soon got deadlocked on the issue of separate electorates which was demanded by Muslims, depressed classes, Christians and Anglo-Indians.
  - **Outcome:** It ended with an announcement from MacDonald (then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom). Announcements made;
    - Two Muslim majority provinces were created i.e. North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Sindh.

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- Setting up of an Indian Consultative Committee.
- Setting up of three expert committees - finance, franchise and states.
- Prospect of a unilateral British Communal Award if Indians failed to agree.

Second Phase of Civil Disobedience Movement

- Gandhiji restarted the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932 but it did not generate much strength and vigour. That is why it was suspended in May 1933 and withdrawn in April 1934.

Assessment of the Civil Disobedience Movement

- **Global Attention:** The Salt Satyagraha drew international attention. Time magazine named Gandhi its 1930 Man of the Year, likening his march to the sea to the American defiance of British tea taxes.
- **Increased Legitimacy:** Although British control was reasserted by the mid-1930s, global opinion increasingly acknowledged the legitimacy of Gandhi and the Congress Party's demand for independence. The movement highlighted that British rule depended on Indian consent.
- **Moral Authority for Congress:** Despite its eventual withdrawal, the movement was not a failure for Congress. By 1934, it had built wide political support and moral authority, leading to a sweeping electoral victory in 1937.
- **Influence on Civil Rights Movement:** Over 30 years later, Gandhi's methods inspired Martin Luther King Jr. in his struggle for civil rights in the United States.

Limitations of the Civil Disobedience Movement

- The Salt Satyagraha brought **little progress toward dominion status** or independence and failed to secure major concessions from the British.
- It did **not succeed in attracting significant Muslim support**.
- Differences grew within the Congress, as Nehru and others distanced themselves from **Gandhi**, who withdrew to **focus on his Constructive Programme**, including efforts to end untouchability through the Harijan movement.

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Despite these limitations, the Civil Disobedience Movement remains a milestone in India's struggle for independence.

Poona Pact, 1932

- The Poona Pact refers to an agreement between Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi, signed on September 24, 1932, at Yerawada Central Jail in Pune.
- **Signing Parties:** It was signed by Dr. Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes and Madan Mohan Malviya on behalf of Gandhiji.
- **Communal Award:** Gandhiji undertook a fast unto death against the decisions made by British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald to grant separate electorates to the depressed classes for the election of members to provincial legislative assemblies in British India.
- **Acceptance of the Pact: The** Poona Pact was accepted by the Government as an amendment to the Communal Award.

Context: Poona Pact and Approaches to Upliftment of Depressed Classes

- **New Terminology:** The Government of India Act of 1935 was a legislation that, for the first time, officially used the terms "Scheduled Castes" and "Scheduled Tribes" to identify historically marginalized communities.
- **Approaches of Upliftment:** When it came to the upliftment of the Dalits (then referred to as the "Depressed Classes"), two major approaches emerged – one led by Mahatma Gandhi and the other by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.
    - **Mahatma Gandhi** believed in a religious and social reform-based approach. He felt that upper-caste Hindus needed to undergo a change of heart and embrace the Depressed Classes as an integral part of the Hindu community.
        - He even coined the term **"Harijan"** (meaning "children of God") for Depressed Classes, aiming to remove the stigma associated with untouchability.
        - Gandhi was deeply concerned that the British were

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exploiting social divisions, particularly between Hindus and Muslims, **and did not want to create further fragmentation within Hindu society** by separating the Depressed Classes politically or religiously.

- **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**, on the other hand, advocated for a political and constitutional approach.
- He argued that religious interpretations could change over time, but constitutional safeguards would offer **long-term protection and empowerment** to the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar emphasized the need for political representation and legal rights, **participating in all three Round Table Conferences** and later forming political parties to represent Dalit interests.

Provision of the Poona Pact

- **Separate Electorates Rejected:** The Poona Pact abandoned separate electorates for the depressed classes. It increased the number of seats reserved for the depressed class from 71 to 147 in provincial legislatures and 18% of the total in the central legislature.
- **Fair Representation:** There shall be no disabilities attached to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the public services.
- **Provision of Education Facilities:** In every province, out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the Depressed Classes.

Rise of Socialists

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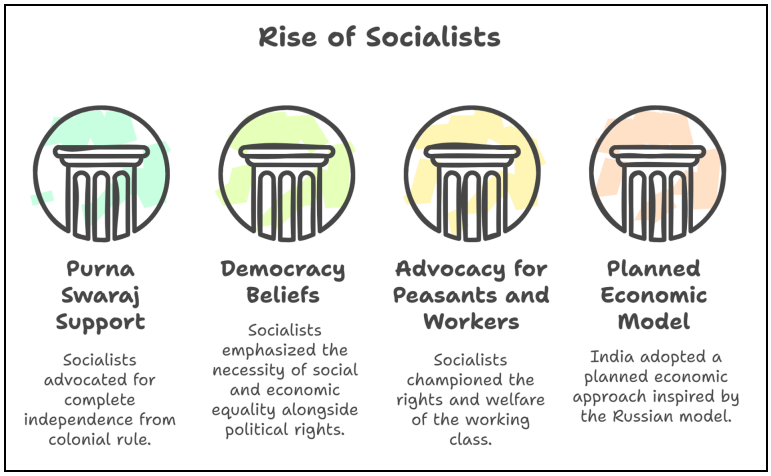
Rise of Socialists
Purna Swaraj Support
Socialists advocated for complete independence from colonial rule.
Democracy Beliefs
Socialists emphasized the necessity of social and economic equality alongside political rights.
Advocacy for Peasants and Workers
Socialists championed the rights and welfare of the working class.
Planned Economic Model
India adopted a planned economic approach inspired by the Russian model.

- **Background:** Socialism emerged as a major ideology after the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution of 1917.
- **Socialism in India:** Indian leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru were influenced by the ideals of socialism, which significantly impacted India's freedom struggle.
- **Purna Swaraj:** Socialists strongly supported the idea of Purna Swaraj (complete independence), as they believed that British rule was not in India's favour. It officially became the goal of the Indian National Congress during the Lahore Session of 1929.
- **Socio-Economic Democracy:** Socialists believed that political democracy without social and economic democracy was meaningless, and that it should be the State's responsibility to create a just and equitable society.
- **Increased Mass Base:** They took up the cause of peasants and workers, which greatly expanded the mass base of India's freedom movement.
- **Faizpur Session & All India Kisan Sabha:** The Faizpur Session of 1936 and the creation of the All India Kisan Sabha were significantly influenced by socialist thought and support.

Aftermath of the Civil Disobedience Movement:

- In 1933, Subhas Chandra Bose declared that Gandhiji had failed as a political leader. **Gandhiji withdrew from active politics from 1934 onwards.**

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- In **1935, the Government of India Act** was passed and **elections were held in 1937,** in which Congress won seven out of eleven provinces, while the performance of the Muslim League was poor.
- After the defeat in this election, **M. A. Jinnah pursued the policy of communalism,** which eventually led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947.
- **Congress ruled from 1937 to 1939** in seven provinces for a period of 28 months. They **resigned in 1939** as India was made a party to the Second World War without consultation with the Congress. This was celebrated by Jinnah as the 'Day of Deliverance.'

Second World War (1939 - 45) and Indian National Movement

- **Beginning of WW II:** World War II started in 1939, as Poland was invaded by Germany under Adolf Hitler on September 1, 1939. This created a debate between Gandhiji and Bose with respect to leading India's Freedom Struggle.
- **Views on WW II:** On one hand, Bose was in favour of starting a mass movement against British rule to use the opportunity provided by World War II.
    - On the other hand, Gandhiji saw World War II as a moral war as Britain was fighting against Hitler, who was trying to exterminate Jews in concentration camps.
- **Bose's Actions:** These differences were responsible for Bose's resignation in 1939. He established the Forward Bloc to carry on the political activity, but later he went to Southeast Asia to command the Indian National Army in order to liberate India from British rule.

August Offer, 1940

The August Offer was sent by the British government to gain the support of Indian Nationalists against the war efforts directed at Germany.

Proposal of August Offer

- **Dominion status was offered to India.**

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- Expansion of the Viceroy's executive council, which would have a majority of Indians (who would be drawn from major political parties) and the establishment of an **Advisory War Council**.
- **Setting up of a constituent assembly** after the war, where mainly Indians would decide the constitution according to their social, economic and political conceptions, subject to fulfilment of the obligation of the government regarding defence, minority rights, treaties with States, all India services.
- **No future Constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.** The Government reaffirmed its desire to give full weight to minority opinion.

Responses From Political Parties

- **Congress and Muslim League:** The Congress rejected the August Offer while the Muslim League welcomed the veto assurance given to it.
    - **Veto Assurance:** No future Constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.

Significance of the August Offer

- For the first time, the inherent **right of Indians to frame their constitution** was recognised, and the Congress's demand for a constituent assembly was conceded.
- In July 1941, the Viceroy's executive council was enlarged to give the **Indians a majority of 8 out of 12 for the first time.**
- **Note:** The British remained in charge of defence, finance and home affairs.
- A **National Defence Council** was set up with purely advisory functions.

Individual Satyagraha

- It was **started by Gandhiji** to affirm the **right of free speech** for Indians without embarrassing Great Britain in its war against Germany.
- It began in **October 1940 and continued until December 1941.**
- The **first Satyagrahi was Acharya Vinoba Bhave**, and the **second was Jawaharlal Nehru**.

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- **Non-violence** was the main principle behind the Individual Satyagraha.
- **Assessment:** Individual Satyagraha ended in 914 as the movement lost its impetus and only about 5,600 satyagrahis remained in jail.
    - Individual Satyagraha did not lead to any major negotiations between the government and the Congress but it did infuse people with nationalist fervour.

Bhoodan Movement

- It aimed to reform land by making changes in agriculture through a non-violent movement, not just government regulations.
- **Role of Vinoba Bhave:** Acharya Vinoba Bhave, a respected Gandhian worker, used ideas like constructive work and trusteeship to start this movement. Bhave and his followers initiated a padayatra, a journey on foot from village to village, to persuade large landowners to donate at least one-sixth of their lands as a 'land gift' (bhoodan). The intention was to distribute this gifted land among the landless and those with limited land holdings.

- **Ramon Magsaysay Award:** Vinoba Bhave was the first Indian to receive the Ramon Magsaysay Award for Community Leadership in 1958. The award is considered to be Asia's equivalent to the Nobel Prize.

Cripps Mission

- The Cripps Mission was sent to India in March 1942 with constitutional proposals to seek Indian support for the war.
- **Why was it sent?:**It was dispatched due to pressure from British allies—the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. Another key reason behind the Cripps Mission was the setbacks suffered by Britain in Southeast Asia at the hands of the Japanese.

Proposals of the Cripps Mission

- **Dominion Status:** An Indian Union with a dominion status would be set up after the war. This union was free to decide its relations with the Commonwealth and other international bodies.

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- **Constituent Assembly:** A constituent assembly was to be convened after the war to frame a new Constitution.
    - **Composition (Defined For the First Time):** Members of this assembly would be partly elected by the provincial assemblies through proportional representation and partly nominated by the provinces.
- **Conditions put by the British Government:** The British government stated that any province not willing to join the Union could have a separate constitution. This was a big attack on Indian unity.
    - In the meantime Defense of India would remain in British hands and the governor-general's powers would remain intact.

Criticism of the Cripps Mission

Churchill (the British Prime Minister), Amery (the Secretary of State), Linlithgow (the Viceroy), and Wavell (the Commander-in-Chief) consistently undermined Cripps' efforts.

- Congress **demanded complete freedom** instead of Dominion Status.
- The **right of provinces to secede** from the Indian Union was **criticized** by the INC.
- The **Muslim League contested the idea of a single Indian union** and protested against the creation of a constituent assembly.

The failure of the Cripps Mission in March 1942 led to the beginning of the Quit India Movement.

Quit India Movement

- The Quit India Movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi on August 8, 1942 during World War II, demanding an end to British rule in India.

Circumstances Leading to the Quit India Movement

- **Failure of Cripps Mission:** The failure of the Cripps Mission to solve the constitutional deadlock exposed Britain's unchanged attitude on constitutional advance and made it clear that any further silence would be tantamount to accepting the British right to decide the fate of Indians without consulting them.

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- **Prices and Shortage Issues:** There was popular discontent because of rising prices and a shortage of essential goods like rice, salt, along with rising taxations.
- **Japanese Fear:** The British rule collapsed in Southeast Asia and because of this, they followed a scorched earth policy (destroying the infrastructure)in Assam, Bengal and Orissa against a possible Japanese advance.

Events of the Quit India Movement

- **Quit India Resolution:** In July 1942, the Congress Working Committee met at Wardha and resolved to authorize Gandhi to lead a non-violent mass movement. This resolution came to be known as the Quit India Resolution.
- **Objective:** The Quit India Resolution was ratified at the All India Congress Committee meeting held at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, on August 8, 1942. The meeting also resolved:
    - To demand an immediate end to British rule in India.
    - To declare the commitment of a free India to defend itself against all forms of fascism and imperialism.
    - To form a Provisional Government of India after the British withdrawal.
    - To sanction a civil disobedience movement against British rule.
- **Gandhi's Mantra:** Gandhi gave the powerful slogan: "Do or Die", urging all Indians to either free India or die in the attempt. He said:
    - "We shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery."
- **Gandhi's Call to the People:** Though not officially issued, Gandhi's special instructions to different sections of society were spelled out at the Gowalia Tank meeting:
    - **Government Servants:** Do not resign, but declare your allegiance to the Congress.
    - **Soldiers:** Do not leave the army, but refuse to fire on your compatriots.
    - **Students:** If confident, leave your studies to join the movement.

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- **Peasants:** If zamindars are anti-government, pay mutually agreed rent.
    - If zamindars are pro-government, they do not pay rent.
- **Princes:** Support the masses and accept the sovereignty of your people.
    - The people should support the ruler only if the ruler supports the nationalist cause.

Government Response to the Quit India Movement

- **Determined to Crush the Movement:** The Government of India was determined to neutralize the Congress leadership. This determination was intensified by the looming threat of Japanese advances in Asia. The government was militarily prepared to crush any civil disobedience movement.
- **Arrest of Congress Leadership:** Within hours of the launch of the Quit India Movement on 8 August 1942 at the All-India Congress Committee session in Bombay, the entire Congress Working Committee (CWC) leadership was arrested and sent to different prisons.
    - These arrests marked the beginning of the widespread escalation of the movement across various parts of the country.

Response of the Congress and Countrymen

- **12-Point Action Plan:** On 9 August 1942, several Congress leaders—including Maulana Azad, Sadiq Ali, Dahyabhai Patel, Pyarelal Nair, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, and Sucheta Kripalani—drew up a programme of action in Bombay.
    - The original plan is believed to have been prepared under Gandhiji's instructions.
- **Comprehensive Response:** The movement began with a call for a day-long hartal (strike) and incorporated all the traditional methods of non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience used under Gandhi's leadership since 1920.
- **As the movement escalated, it included:** Mass breaking of the salt laws
    - Picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops
    - Industrial strikes

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- Sabotage of railways and telegraph lines
- Appeals to soldiers of the British Indian Army to join the national struggle
- Non-payment of taxes
- Establishment of parallel governments in some areas

- **Leadership in Newer and Younger Hands:** Despite the arrest of major Congress leaders, the movement showed remarkable uniformity across the country. For example, on 9 August, with senior leaders jailed, Aruna Asaf Ali presided over the Congress Committee session and hoisted the national flag.
  - Leadership passed into the hands of younger political workers, students, and ordinary citizens, who adopted a more confrontational and radical approach, often pushing for direct and intense mass actions.

Regional Aspects of the Quit India Movement

- **Spread of the Movement:** As government repression intensified, nationalist fervor grew in many regions, particularly in Ballia (United Provinces), Medinipur (Bengal), and various areas in Bihar.
- **Underground Activity:** Many nationalists went underground and engaged in subversive activities. Participants included Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhi Ashramites, revolutionary nationalists, and local organizations.
  - These movements were active in regions such as Bombay, Poona, Satara, Baroda, and parts of Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, United Provinces, Bihar, and Delhi.
  - **Prominent Underground Activists:** Ram Manohar Lohia
    - Jayaprakash Narayan
    - Aruna Asaf Ali
    - Usha Mehta (who started an underground radio station in Bombay)
    - Biju Patnaik
    - Chhotubhai Puranik

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- Achyut Patwardhan
- Sucheta Kripalani
- R.P. Goenka

  - This underground phase helped maintain popular morale and provided a decentralized line of command. It also facilitated the distribution of arms and ammunition where needed.

- **Karnataka Method:** In Karnataka, a unique tactic known as the Karnataka Method was adopted, which involved deliberate avoidance of direct confrontation with British forces while conducting secret sabotage and non-cooperation activities at night.
- **Parallel Governments:** In several regions, parallel governments were set up to replace British administration:
  - **Ballia (August 1942, for a week)** - Led by Chittu Pandey, this government managed to secure the release of several Congress leaders.
  - **Tamluk (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944)** - Known as Jatiya Sarkar, it carried out relief work after cyclones, funded schools, and redistributed paddy from the rich to the poor.
  - **Satara (Mid-1943 to 1945)** - Known as Prati Sarkar, this was organized under leaders like Y.B. Chavan and Nana Patil. It set up village libraries, Nyayadan Mandals (people's courts), promoted prohibition, and encouraged Gandhi-style marriages (simple and non-ritualistic).

Social Base of the Quit India Movement

- **Youth and Women:** Students, especially from schools and colleges, played a leading role in the movement.
  - Women also participated actively, particularly young students. Notable female leaders included Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kripalani, and Usha Mehta.
- **Workers and Peasants:** Workers organized strikes in various industrial centers despite severe repression.

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- Peasants focused their actions on attacking symbols of British authority, such as government buildings and officials.

- **Government Officials:** Some lower-level government officials, including members of the police and local administration, participated in the movement. This marked a significant erosion of loyalty to the British government from within its own ranks.
- **Muslim Community:** Many Muslims contributed by sheltering underground activists, and notably, there were no communal clashes during the movement.
- **Communist Party of India:** The Communists did not participate in the Quit India Movement. After Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the Communist Party of India began supporting the British war effort, aligning with their ideological ally, the USSR.
- **Muslim League:** The Muslim League opposed the movement, fearing that a sudden British withdrawal would lead to the domination of minorities, particularly Muslims, by the Hindu majority.
    - The League also adopted the "Divide and Quit" slogan.
- **Hindu Mahasabha and Princely States:** The Hindu Mahasabha boycotted the movement.
    - The Princely States remained mostly neutral or unresponsive, showing a low-key reaction.

Significance of the Quit India Movement

- The Quit India Movement did not succeed in ending British rule immediately. However, it powerfully demonstrated the determination and **unity of India's diverse communities** to resist imperial oppression.
- The **establishment of parallel governments** marked a fundamental difference from previous movements, showing a deeper assertion of self-rule.
- The movement had a **broad social base,** involving students, women, laborers, and poor peasants, and was further radicalized by the effects of the Great Depression.

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- After Quit India, **there was no turning back**—the focus shifted firmly to the inevitable **transfer of power from the British to the Indians.**

Timeline: 1930-1946

- **1930-1934 -** Civil Disobedience Movement
- **1932 -** Poona Pact
- **1933 -** Bose Criticizes Gandhi
    - Subhas Chandra Bose declared that Gandhiji's approach to the Civil Disobedience Movement had failed.
- **1934 -** Gandhi Shifts Focus to Harijan Movement
- **1935 - The** Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament; it became the basis of the future Indian Constitution.
- **1936-1937 -** Congress Manifesto & Provincial Elections
    - Congress released its manifesto and won 7 out of 11 provinces in the elections.
- **1937-1939 -** Congress governed in 7 provinces for 28 months.
- **1938 -** Pirpur Committee Report
- **1939 -** World War II begins after the German invasion of Poland. India was unilaterally declared a participant by the British.
    - Congress Ministries resigned in protest. The Muslim League observed 'Day of Deliverance' after the resignations.
- **1940 -** August: Offer by the British, proposing Dominion Status post-war (rejected by Congress).
    - Launch of Individual Satyagraha by Vinoba Bhave, Jawaharlal Nehru, and others.
    - Lahore Resolution by the Muslim League, formally demanding Pakistan.
- **1941 -** Germany invades the USSR.
    - Attack on Pearl Harbor; U.S. enters World War II.
- **1942 -** Cripps Mission sent by the British (offer rejected by Congress).
    - Launch of the Quit India Movement, which continued until 1944.
        - 8 August 1942 - The Quit India Movement was

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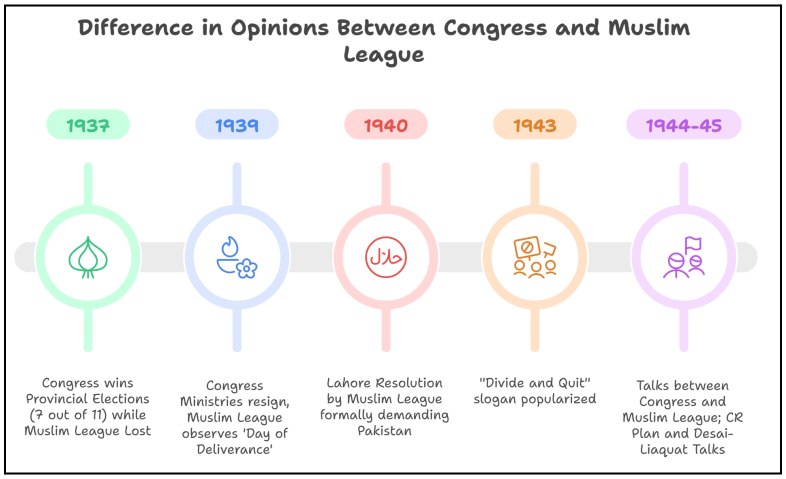
officially launched.
    - 8-15 August 1942 - The movement was most prominent in urban areas.
    - After 15 August 1942 - The movement spread to rural areas.
- **1943** - "Divide and Quit" slogan popularized amid rising communal tensions.
- **1944** - Initial talks between Congress and the Muslim League.
    - Rajaji Formula proposed a potential agreement.
    - The Desai-Liaquat Pact attempted cooperation between Congress and League leaders.
    - The Imphal Campaign was led by the Indian National Army (INA).
- **1945** - Wavell Plan and Shimla Conference aimed at a political agreement between Indian parties.
    - World War II ends.
    - Start of the INA trials, galvanizing nationalist sentiments.
- **February 1946** - Royal Indian Navy Mutiny, a major uprising against British rule.
    - Arrival of the Cabinet Mission to discuss the transfer of power.

Efforts To Resolve the Deadlock between Congress & Muslim League


Difference in Opinions Between Congress and Muslim League
1937
1939
1940
1943
1944-45
Congress wins Provincial Elections (7 out of 11) while Muslim League Lost
Congress Ministries resign, Muslim League observes 'Day of Deliverance'
Lahore Resolution by Muslim League formally demanding Pakistan
"Divide and Quit" slogan popularized
Talks between Congress and Muslim League; CR Plan and Desai-Liaquat Talks

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Rajagopalachari Formula (April - Sept 1944)

- **Objective:** The objective of the Rajagopalachari Formula was to bridge the gap between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress (INC), which arose due to the difference of opinion on the Two-Nation Theory and the independence of India from the British.
- **Provision:** Muslim League to endorse Congress's demand for independence
    - Muslim League was to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre.
    - After the end of the war, the entire population of Muslim majority areas in northwest India and northeast India could decide whether or not to form a separate sovereign state by a plebiscite.
    - In case of acceptance of partition, an agreement is to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc.
    - The above terms are to be operative only if England transfers full powers to India.
- **Response to the Rajagopalachari Formula:**
    - **Congress Response:** The Congress was ready to cooperate with the League for the independence of the Indian Union.
    - **Muslim League Response:** Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory.
    - **Hindu Groups:** Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar condemned the Rajagopalachari Formula.

Desai-Liaquat Pact (Jan 1945)

- **Between:** The Desai-Liaqat Pact was discussed between Bhulabhal Desai of Congress and Liaquat Ali Khan (deputy leader) of the Muslim League.
- **Objective:** It was an effort to end the deadlock between the INC and the Muslim League and construct an alliance to bring independence faster.
- **Draft Proposal:** Congress and the League will nominate an equal number of representatives in the Central legislature.
    - 20% of the seats will be reserved for minorities.

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- The Government would function as per the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

- **Pact Could Not Survive:** This pact could not survive as Jinnah refused to accept the provisions of this pact.

The Idea of Pakistan

- **Choudhary Rehmat Ali** coined the term "Pakistan" on January 28, 1933, in his **pamphlet "Now or Never: Are we to live or perish forever"**, where he appealed for the recognition of Muslims in five northern regions—**Punjab, Afghan Province (NWFP), Kashmir, Sindh, and Balochistan**—as a separate nation.
- The name "Pakistan" was formed from the initials of these regions. **Initially, the pamphlet received little attention** from leaders in their speeches and correspondence. In 1947, Ali's dream would become a reality.
- However, **after 1937, following Jinnah's final break with the Congress** and his increasingly separatist stance, Rehmat Ali's idea began gaining traction.
- In 1940, the **Muslim League's Lahore Resolution** called for independent states in Muslim-majority areas, though it **did not explicitly mention "Pakistan."** Between 1940 and 1943, the term started appearing in speeches and correspondence by Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders.
- Ultimately, in 1947, Rehmat Ali's vision became a reality with the creation of Pakistan.

Wavell Plan and Shimla Conference

- Lord Wavell started negotiations with the Indian leaders to read a solution to the Constitutional deadlock.
- **Provisions:** With the exception of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, all members of the executive council were to be Indians.
    - The council would have a balanced representation of the main communities. Hindus and Muslims were to have equal

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representation. The Scheduled Castes would be separately represented.

- The Reconstructed council was to function as an interim government within the framework of the 1935 Act.
- The Governor-General was to exercise his veto on the advice of ministers, however , it would not be used unnecessarily.
- The portfolio of External Affairs was to be transferred from the Governor-General to an Indian member of the Council.
- Representatives of different parties were to submit a joint list to the Viceroy for nominations to the executive council. If a joint list was not possible, then separate lists were to be submitted.

Shimla Conference, 1945

- **Talks Stalled - Jinnah's Demand:** Talks at the Shimla Conference were stalled over the issue of the selection of Muslim representatives.
  - Jinnah insisted that only League members could be the Muslim representatives in the Council, and opposed the idea of Congress nominating Muslim members.
- **Failure of the Conference:** Lord Wavell wound up the conference by declaring the failure of the talks.

Indian National Movement - Post World War II

INA Trials

- **INA Trials:** The Indian National Army trials, or the Red Fort trials, were the British Indian courts-martial of a number of officers of the Indian National Army (INA) / Azad Hind Fauj between November 1945 and May 1946 for treason, torture, murder, and abetment to murder.
- **First Trial:** It was the joint court-martial of Colonel Prem Sehgal, Colonel Gurubaksh Singh Dhillon, and Major General Shah Nawaz Khan.
- **Second Trial:** It was the trial of Abdul Rashid, Shinghara Singh, Fateh Khan, and Captain Malik Munawar Khan. The site of the trial was also moved from the Red Fort to an adjoining building.

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- **Impact of these Trials:** These trials attracted publicity and public sympathy for the defendants, who were perceived as patriots in India. These trials created unease and unrest within the troops of the British Raj.

Royal Indian Navy Mutiny

- **RIN Nutiny:** On February 18, 1946, around 1100 Royal Indian Navy (RIN) ratings (soldiers/ship crew) of HMIS Talwar went on a strike to protest against:
    - Racial discrimination (demanding equal pay for Indian and white soldiers)
    - Unpalatable food (low food quality)
    - Abuse by superior officers
    - Arrest of a rating for scrawling 'Quit India' on HMIS Talwar
    - INA trials
- **Public Support to the Mutiny:** The rebellious ratings hoisted the tricolour, and thereafter they marched with Congress flags in Bombay and threatened Europeans and policemen.
- **Views of National Leaders over the Mutiny:** Sardar Patel and Jinnah persuaded the ratings to surrender on February 23 with an assurance that national parties would prevent any victimisation.
    - The **Communist Party of India**, the third largest political force at the time, extended full support to the naval ratings and mobilised the workers in their support.

Pillars of the British Raj and Their Cracks

The British Raj relied on three main pillars to maintain control over India:

- **Armed Forces (Army, Navy, and Air Force):** The loyalty of Indian soldiers was critical to British rule.
    - However, events like the Indian National Army (INA) trials (1945-46) and the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) Mutiny (1946) revealed deep unrest within the military.
    - These incidents signaled a collapse of trust and control within the armed forces.

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- **Civil Services:** The Indian Civil Services (ICS), once dominated by British officers, gradually saw increasing Indian participation – by the 1940s, over 50% were Indians.
    - Despite being a stabilizing force, the growing Indian presence also meant increasing sympathy toward nationalist causes.
- **Police:** Traditionally used to suppress dissent, the police force was not immune to nationalist sentiments.
    - During the Quit India Movement (1942), many police personnel sympathized with the movement.

These cracks in the foundational institutions of British control made it increasingly difficult for Britain to govern India. Combined with economic exhaustion after World War II and growing international pressure, these factors contributed to Britain's decision to withdraw from India in 1947.

1946 Election Results

- **Congress Performance:** It got 91 per cent of non-Muslim votes.
    - It captured 57 out of 102 seats in the Central Assembly.
    - In the provincial elections, it got a majority in most provinces except in Bengal, Sindh, and Punjab.
    - The Congress majority provinces included the North West Frontier Province and Assam, which were being claimed by Pakistan.
- **Muslim League Performance:** It got 86.6 per cent of the Muslim votes.
    - It captured the 30 reserved seats in the Central Assembly.
    - In the provincial elections, it got a majority in Bengal and Sindh.
    - Unlike in 1937, now the League clearly established itself as the dominant party among Muslims.
- **Significant aspects of Elections:** The elections witnessed communal voting.

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Cabinet Mission Plan (Feb 1946)

- **Aim:** The Cabinet Mission came to India in order to discuss the transfer of power from the British government to the Indian political leadership, with the aim of preserving India's unity and granting independence.
- **Initiative:** It was formed at the initiative of Clement Attlee (the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom).
- **Members:** Lord Pethick-Lawrence (Secretary of State for India), Sir Stafford Cripps, and A.V. Alexander.
- **Discussions:** The Mission had prolonged discussions with Indian leaders of all parties and groups on the issues of the interim government, and principles and procedures for framing a new constitution.
- **Disagreement:** As the Congress and the League could not come to any agreement on the fundamental issue of the unity or partition of India, the mission put forward its own plan (submitted its report) for the solution of the constitutional problem in May 1946.

Provisions of the Plan

- **Rejection of demand for Pakistan & Recommended Union of India:** The Cabinet Plan rejected the demand of Pakistan explicitly and recommended a Union of India India, embracing both British India and the States, with exclusive control of Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications.
- **Governance Structure:** It recommended a three-tier executive and legislature at provincial, section, and union levels.
- **Division of Powers:** All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.
- **Grouping of Provinces:** The Cabinet Plan made grouping of provinces into three sections
    - **Section A:** Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa (Hindu-majority provinces)
    - **Section B:** Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sindh (Muslim-majority provinces)

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- **Section C:** Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority provinces in the east).

- **Reconsideration of Terms & Conditions for Provinces:** The Constitutions of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could by majority vote of its Legislative Assembly could call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.
    - In effect, this meant that a Province could opt to leave its designated Group or seek changes in its constitutional arrangement.
- **Formation of Constituent Assembly:** A constituent assembly was to be elected by provincial assemblies by proportional representation (voting in three groups i.e. General, Muslims, Sikhs).
    - This constituent assembly would be a 389-member body with provincial assemblies sending 292, chief commissioner's provinces sending 4, and princely states sending 93 members.
- **Interim Government:** An interim government at the Centre was to be established on the basis of parity between the representatives of the Hindus and Muslims.

Reactions of Political Parties

- **Congress:** To Congress, the Cabinet Mission Plan was a victory of Indian unity, as the creation of Pakistan was rejected.
    - Congress was asking for the **lack of compulsory grouping as NWFP and Assam** were ruled by Congress but were made part of Groups B and C, respectively.
    - Congress was **against the principle of nomination for the representation of Princely States** in the Constituent Assembly.
- **Muslim League:** The Muslim League believed Pakistan to be implied in compulsory grouping.
    - The League wanted the **prompt formation of an interim government** as they had calculated that Congress would reject the Cabinet Mission Plan.

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Acceptance and Rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan

- **Agreement From League and Congress:** The League accepted the Cabinet Nation Plan on June 6, 1946, while Congress accepted certain parts of it on June 24, 1946. This brief moment of agreement gave the impression that partition might be avoided.
- **Nehru's Statement on Grouping:** On July 10, 1946, Nehru stated that:
    - "We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly (implying that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign and would decide the rules of procedure). The big probability is that there would be no grouping as NWFP and Assam would have objections to joining sections B and C."
- **U-turn by League:** On July 29, 1946, the League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan in response to Nehru's statement and gave a call for "direct action" on August 16 to achieve Pakistan.

Partition of India

Events Towards Partition

- **Direct Action Day:** On August 16, 1946 Direct Action Day was declared by Jinnah. Communal riots broke out in Calcutta under a Muslim League government headed by H. S. Suhrawardy, who abetted the rioters.
- **Attitude of British Government:** The communal trouble broke out in Noakhali in East Bengal began on October 10, 1946. The government showed little interest in controlling the situation and eventually, the Viceroy brought the Muslim League into the Interim Government.
- **Trouble in Interim Government: The** Muslim League joined the Interim Government and carried out non-cooperation in it also. The League opened battle on every front possible to achieve Pakistan.

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- **Stalling the Government's Work:** Congress members in the Interim Government found the functioning of the government to be severely compromised.
- **Atlee's Statement:** Clement Attlee made an announcement in February 1947 that the British would withdraw from India on June 30, 1948 and he appointed Lord Mountbatten as the new Viceroy, replacing Wavell, to speed the transfer of power.
- **Mountbatten as Viceroy:** Lord Mountbatten conducted 133 rounds of talks in the first 40 days of his arrival, and he realized the Cabinet Mission Plan was a dead horse and that is why he considered partition as the only logical solution.

Mountbatten Plan

The Mountbatten Plan was presented on June 3, 1947 with the following provisions

- Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would meet in two groups, Hindus and Muslims, to vote for partition.
- In case of partition, two dominions and two constituent assemblies would be created.
- Sindh would take its own decision.
- Referendums in the NWFP and the Sylhet district of Bengal would decide the fate of these areas.
- Independence for princely states was ruled out and they were to join either India or Pakistan.
- August 15, 1947 was decided as the date of withdrawal of the British from India.
- A boundary commission was to be set up under the Civil Radcliffe to divide the Indian subcontinent between India and Pakistan.
- **Acceptance:** This plan was accepted by the INC, as Mountbatten assured that he would ensure maximum unity.
- The **Indian Independence Bill** was presented in the British Parliament and it got a royal assent by **July 18, 1947**.

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Partition of India

Why Did Congress Accept Partition?

The Indian National Congress's acceptance of partition in 1947 was the culmination of a complex interplay of long-term, short-term, and immediate factors.

Long-Term Factors

- **British Divide and Rule Policy:** The British colonial strategy of "divide and rule" exacerbated communal divisions between Hindus and Muslims.
- **Separate Electorates (1906):** The introduction of separate electorates in 1906 allowed Muslims to elect their representatives, reinforcing the notion of distinct political communities. This system institutionalized division and set a precedent for future demands for separate political identities.
- **Failure to Integrate Muslims into the National Movement:** The Congress's efforts to integrate Muslims into the national movement were limited. While the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22) saw significant Muslim participation, subsequent initiatives failed to maintain this momentum.
- **Nehru Report (1928) and Jinnah's Fourteen Points (1929):** The Nehru Report proposed a dominion status constitution for India but did not accommodate key Muslim demands, such as separate electorates and weightage in representation. In response, Jinnah articulated the Fourteen Points.

Short-Term Factors (1937-1947)

- **Lahore Resolution (1940):** The Lahore Resolution, passed by the Muslim League in 1940, called for separate states for Muslims in the northwestern and eastern zones of India. This marked a formal demand for partition and galvanized Muslim aspirations for a separate homeland.
- **Rajagopalachari Formula (1944):** To address the political deadlock, C. Rajagopalachari proposed a formula. However, Jinnah rejected this proposal.

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- **Desai-Liaquat Pact:** The pact's inability to address core differences led to continued mistrust and hardened positions on both sides.

Immediate Factors (1946-1947)

- **Cabinet Mission Plan (1946):** The Cabinet Mission was rejected by the Muslim League on July 24, 1946.
- **Direct Action Day (1946):** On August 16, 1946, the Muslim League called for Direct Action Day to assert Muslim demands. The resulting communal riots, particularly in Calcutta, led to thousands of deaths and widespread violence.
- **Failure of the Interim Government:** The formation of an interim government in 1946 aimed at facilitating the transition to independence. However, the Muslim League's refusal to cooperate.

Who is Responsible for the Partition?

"I will tell you who made Pakistan. Myself my secretary and his typewriter." - M. A. Jinnah

Viewpoint 1: Muslim League and the British

- **Muslim League's Role:** The Muslim League, under Muhammad Ali Jinnah, became increasingly assertive in its demand for a separate Muslim state after the 1930s.
    - **Lahore Resolution (1940)** formally demanded a separate nation for Muslims, laying the ideological groundwork for Pakistan.
    - Jinnah believed Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations (**"Two-Nation Theory"**) that could not coexist peacefully in a single polity.
    - His famous quote: "I will tell you who made Pakistan: Myself, my secretary, and his typewriter" highlights the centrality of his personal effort in the Pakistan movement.
- **British Divide and Rule Policy:** The British had long pursued policies that fostered communal divisions.
    - By **treating Hindus and Muslims as distinct political entities**, they institutionalized communalism.
    - During the final years, British actions (e.g., Cripps Mission failure, Cabinet Mission Plan complications) **failed to reconcile differences** and instead accelerated division.

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Viewpoint 2: Congress's Role and Mistakes (Policy Failure)

- **Failure to Integrate Muslims into the National Movement:** Despite early alliances like the Lucknow Pact (1916), the Congress failed to consistently include Muslim leaders and concerns.
- **1937 Provincial Elections:** Congress won majorities in several provinces but allegedly did not accommodate Muslim League representatives in coalition governments.
    - This reinforced Jinnah's claim that Muslims could not expect fair treatment in a Hindu-majority India.
- **Rigid Stance on Constitutional Negotiations:** Congress leaders, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, rejected the idea of religious groupings as a basis for federal power (as proposed in the Cabinet Mission Plan).
    - Congress's refusal to consider a confederal structure or power-sharing arrangements hardened the League's demand for Partition.

Was the Partition Inevitable and Unavoidable?

Partition Was Unavoidable (Especially After 1946)

Many historians argue that Partition became inevitable by mid-1946, due to deepening communal divisions, political deadlock, and increasing violence.

- **Cabinet Mission Plan (May-July 1946):** This was the last serious attempt to keep India united, proposing a federation with autonomous provinces and a weak center.
    - Both the Congress and the Muslim League initially accepted the plan, giving hope that a compromise was possible.
    - However, on 29 July 1946, the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance. This move signaled a point of no return, with Jinnah calling for "Direct Action" to achieve Pakistan.
- **Direct Action Day (16 August 1946):** The Muslim League's call for Direct Action led to horrific communal riots, especially in Calcutta, which killed thousands and spread violence across India.
    - Trust between communities collapsed, making a united India appear increasingly unrealistic.

- **Interim Government (October 1946):** Although the Muslim League joined the Interim Government, it refused to cooperate with Congress ministers and often acted as an opposition from within.
    - The administrative machinery was paralyzed, deepening the crisis.
- **British Pressure and Mountbatten's Role:** In February 1947, the British government announced that power would be transferred by June 1948.
    - Lord Mountbatten, who became Viceroy in March 1947, decided to speed up the process and fix an earlier transfer date (August 15, 1947).
    - He had no intention of staying long and saw Partition as the fastest way to ensure a smooth exit with minimal British involvement.

Opinions and Viewpoints

- **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** I felt that if we did not accept partition, India would be split into many bits and would be completely ruined. My experience in other offices for one year convinced me that the way we have been proceeding would lead us to disaster. We would not have had one Pakistan but several. We would have had Pakistan cells in every office.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru:** I suppose it was the compulsion of events and the feeling that we wouldn't get out of that deadlock by pursuing the way we had done; it became worse and worse. Further, a feeling that even if we got freedom for India with that background, it would be very weak India, that is, a federal India with far too much power in the federating units. A larger India would have constant troubles, constant disintegrating pulls. And also the fact that we saw no other way of getting our freedom in the near future, I mean. And so we accepted it and said, let us build up a strong India.

Revolutionary Activities During The 1920s And 1930s

First Phase ⇒ 1897 - 1918

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- The early phase of the revolutionary movement was more pronounced in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab
    - Maharashtra ⇒ Chapekar Brothers
        - Savarkar Brothers
    - Bengal ⇒ Anushila Samiti
        - Yugantar
    - Punjab ⇒ Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh)
- Ghadar Movement

Second Phase ⇒ 1922 - 1934

Third Phase ⇒ 1940s Onwards

- Formation of the Indian National Army (INA) headed by Mohan Singh
- The Imphal Campaign, which witnessed the decisive Japanese defeat in north-east India.
- INA Trials

Second Phase (1922 - 1934)

- **Factors Responsible**
    - **Repression and Release:** Many revolutionaries were released under amnesty after World War I to facilitate the Montford Reforms. Their previous experience of British repression hardened their resolve.
    - **Disillusionment After Non-Cooperation:** The abrupt withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922 disappointed many young nationalists. They lost faith in non-violence and turned toward armed struggle.
    - **Ideological Shift:** Inspired by global revolutionary ideas, many began to believe that only violent resistance could end British rule.
- **Major Personalities:** Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Chandrashekhar Azad, Jatin Das, Shiv Verma, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Surya Sen.
- **Main Revolutionary Centers:**

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- **Punjab-UP-Bihar Region:** Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA)
- **Bengal:** Chittagong Armoury Raid led by Surya Sen

Revolutionary Activities in Punjab, United Provinces, and Bihar

- **Hindustan Republican Association (HRA):**
  - **Founded:** October 1924 in Kanpur by Ram Prasad Bismil, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, and Sachin Sanyal.
  - **Aim:** To overthrow British rule through armed revolution and establish the Federal Republic of the United States of India based on adult franchise.
- **Kakori Robbery (August 1925):** HRA revolutionaries looted government funds from a train near Kakori to finance their activities.
  - **British Crackdown:** In the crackdown that followed, 17 were jailed, 4 transported for life, and 4 hanged: Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah Khan, Rajendra Lahiri, and Roshan Singh.
- **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA):** After Kakori, younger revolutionaries reorganized under Chandrashekhar Azad in September 1928 at Feroz Shah Kotla, Delhi.
  - The HRA was renamed HSRA and adopted socialism as its ideology.
  - **Key members:**
    - **From Punjab:** Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Vohra
    - **From U.P.:** Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Shiv Verma, Jaidev Kapur
- **Central Legislative Assembly Bombing (April 8, 1929):**
  - **Leaders Involved:** Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt, members of the HSRA.
  - **Objective:** To protest the Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill, which restricted civil liberties and workers' rights.
  - **Actions:** They threw non-lethal bombs in the Assembly to make "the deaf hear" — aiming not to kill, but to awaken the nation.

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- **Surrendering Voluntarily:** They surrendered voluntarily, intending to use the trial as a platform to spread revolutionary ideas and gain public sympathy.

- **Action Against Revolutionaries**
  - **Lahore Conspiracy Case:** Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were tried and sentenced to death in 1931.
  - **Wider Crackdown:** Several other HSRA members were arrested and tried in different cases, leading to imprisonment and the decline of the organization.

Revolutionary Activities in Bengal

- **Chittagong Armoury Raid (April 1930)**
  - **Leader:** Surya Sen, a teacher and Congress worker who believed in combining revolutionary action with humanism. He admired poets like Tagore and Nazrul Islam and was inspired by nationalist ideals.
  - **Objective:** To launch an armed rebellion against British rule by:
    - Seizing two key armouries in Chittagong
    - Disrupting communication lines (telephone, telegraph)
    - Dislocating railway connections to isolate Chittagong
  - **Key Associates:** Anant Singh, Ganesh Ghosh, Lokenath Baul
  - **Outcome:** Carried out by 65 revolutionaries under the Indian Republican Army (IRA) - Chittagong Branch
    - They successfully captured the armouries, hoisted the national flag, and declared a provisional revolutionary government
    - After the raid, they dispersed into nearby villages and continued guerrilla attacks on government targets
  - **Aftermath:** Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and executed in January 1934, but the raid inspired a new wave of revolutionary enthusiasm among Indian youth.

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Popular Struggles in Princely States - Praja Mandal Movements

- Under British rule, about 60% of India was British territory, and 40% comprised princely states under indirect rule through the principle of **'Paramountcy'**. In exchange for loyalty and internal order, the British guaranteed protection to rulers, who often governed oppressively, spending lavishly while people suffered.

Spread of Nationalist Ideas

- The national movement popularized ideas of **democracy, civil liberties, and responsible government,** which resonated with people in the princely states.
- **Militant nationalists and later mass movements** like Non-Cooperation and Khilafat helped spread political awareness.
- **Praja Mandals or State People's Conferences** emerged as local-level organizations demanding reforms.
- Leaders like **Balwantrai Mehta, Maniklal Kothari, and C.R. Abhyankar** played a key role.
- In **1927, the All India States People's Conference (AISPC)** was formed to coordinate struggles across states.

Congress Policy and National Integration

- **1920s:** Congress called on princely rulers to establish responsible governments.
    - Individuals could join Congress but could not act in its name within the states.
- **1930s:** Two key developments gave momentum:
    - Government of India Act, 1935 and its Federation Scheme (opposed by nationalists).
    - Formation of Congress Ministries in 1937, boosting confidence among people in states.
    - Movements peaked in 1938-39, with mass struggles in Rajkot, Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Patiala.

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- **Tripuri Resolution (1939):** Congress declared its increasing identification with the people of princely states.
- **Quit India Movement (1942):** For the first time, Congress explicitly called on people in princely states to join the national struggle.
    - Demands expanded to include responsible government in states and integration with free India.

Integration of Princely States (1947-48)

- With British paramountcy ending, many princes contemplated independence.
- The Congress firmly rejected such claims and was prepared to use force if needed.
- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as the chief architect of integration, used diplomacy, persuasion, and where necessary, firm action to merge over 500 princely states into the Indian Union.

Communism and the Leftist Movement

Aspect	Socialism	Communism
Origin/Philosophy	Evolved as a moderate alternative in 19th century to capitalism (emerged in 18th century) and communism (1848)	Based on Karl Marx's theory of class struggle and revolution in his works like the Communist Manifesto and Das Capital.
Core Idea	Redistribution of wealth to reduce inequality and ensure welfare of all	Classless, stateless society through revolution by the working class
Goal	Create a welfare state with equal opportunities and access to basic needs	Achieve complete equality by abolishing private property and eliminating class distinctions
Private Property	Allowed, but regulated	Abolished entirely

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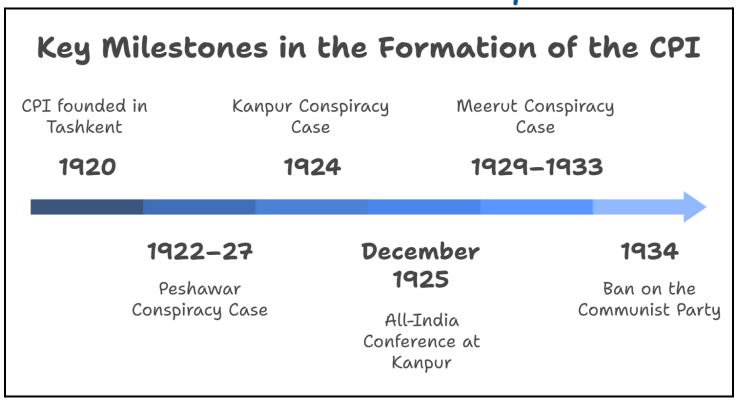
Means of Production	State controls key industries; some private ownership may exist	All means of production are collectively owned
Political System	Can exist within democratic frameworks	Typically involves dictatorship of the proletariat as per Karl Marx through a violent revolution
		The Russian Revolution led by Lenin was based on Communism.

- **Introduction:** The leftist role in the freedom struggle was diverse—sometimes aligning with the Congress, at other times working independently. Key leftist forces included:
  - Communist Party of India (CPI)
  - M.N. Roy's group
  - Congress Socialist Party (CSP)
  - **Influential Individuals:** Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose

Formation of the Communist Party of India



- **Influence of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917):** The Russian Revolution inspired Indian revolutionaries to view Communism as a tool against imperialism.

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- The formation of the Communist International (Comintern) encouraged global coordination among Communists.

- **M.N. Roy and the CPI:** M.N. Roy: First Indian to embrace Marxism, and founder of the Communist Party of India in Tashkent (1920) under the Comintern.
  - **Published Vanguard** from Berlin and set up a military training school for Indian revolutionaries.
- **Peshawar Conspiracy Case (1922-27):** Trained revolutionaries returning to India were arrested and tried in the Peshawar Conspiracy Case, marking the start of British suppression of Communism.

Early Communist Activities Within India

Regional Growth of Communist Thought

- **Bombay:** S.A. Dange turned to Communism after Non-Cooperation ended.
  - Published Gandhi vs Lenin (1921), favoring socialism.
  - Launched the Socialist magazine (1922).
- **Madras:** Singaravelu Chettiar—the first prominent Communist from South India (1923).
- **Bengal:** Muzaffar Ahmad and Kazi Nazrul Islam founded papers like Langal and Navyug.
  - Formed the Labour Swaraj Party (1925) to mobilize workers.
- **Kanpur Conspiracy Case (1924):** British crackdown on Communist activity led to the arrest of:
    - Muzaffar Ahmad, S.A. Dange, Shaukat Usmani, and Nalini Gupta.
  - The Kanpur Conspiracy Case was **aimed at crushing the Communist organization efforts.**
  - Resulted in **4 years of rigorous imprisonment** for the accused, but ironically helped popularize Communism in India.

Formation of the Communist Party of India (CPI)

- **Kanpur Conference (December 1925):** Organized by Satyabhakta in Kanpur; considered the formal beginning of the CPI.
  - **President:** Singaravelu Chettiar

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- **Merged two earlier organizations:**
  - CPI (founded in Tashkent, 1920)
  - Labour Kisan Party of Hindustan
- **S.V. Ghate became the first General Secretary** of the unified CPI.

- **Key Developments**
  - **1926:** CPI's constitution published.
  - **1928:** Two CPI members elected as alternate members to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
  - **1930:** CPI was officially affiliated with the Communist International (Comintern).

Formation of Workers' and Peasants' Parties

Despite repression, the Communist movement expanded through mass-based political fronts:

- **Regional Parties (1927-1928)**
  - **Bombay:** Workers' and Peasants' Party
    - Published in Kranti (Marathi weekly)
- **Punjab:** Workers' and Peasants' Party
  - Published in Mihnatkash (Urdu weekly)
  - Kirti Kisan Party was founded by Santokh Singh (1928)
- **Meerut (October 1928):** Conference attended by British Communist Philip Spratt
  - **Demanded:** National independence
    - Abolition of princely rule and zamindari
    - Right to form trade unions
    - Land for the landless
    - Agricultural banks
    - 8-hour workday
    - Minimum wages for industrial workers
- **All-India Conference (December 1928)**
  - Held in Calcutta, presided over by Sohan Singh Josh
  - Marked growing coordination among leftist forces at the national level.

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Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929-1933)

- **Government Crackdown:** On 14 March 1929, 31 Communists were arrested by the British Government.
    - The accused were charged with conspiring against the British Crown, intending to overthrow British rule through:
        - General strikes
        - Armed uprisings
- **Main Accusations:** The charges, brought by R.A. Horton (Intelligence Bureau), alleged that the accused acted under the direction of the Communist International (Comintern).
    - The formation of Workers' and Peasants' Parties in places like Meerut was cited as part of the conspiracy.
- **Key Individuals:** Included two British Communists:
        - Philip Spratt
        - B.F. Bradley
    - Also involved was Lester Hutchinson, a British journalist.
    - The majority of the accused were Indian Communist leaders.
- **Outcome:** The Trial lasted 4 years.
    - The Allahabad High Court later acquitted some and reduced sentences for others on appeal.
    - Widely condemned across India;
    - Gandhi called it "a reign of lawlessness under the guise of law."

Ban on the Communist Party (1934)

- **Renewed Communist Activity:** In 1934, Communists led militant trade union movements and strikes in:
    - Nagpur
    - Sholapur
    - Bombay
- **Government Response:** On 23 July 1934, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was officially banned.
- **As a result,** Many Communists operated underground

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- Others joined the Indian National Congress or the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) to continue their work within a legal framework.

- This ban was lifted during the Second World War.

Formation of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP)

- **Background:** While Communists worked outside the Congress, many young Congress leaders were drawn to socialist ideas.
- **Influential figures:** Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jayaprakash Narayan (JP), Acharya Narendra Dev, Achyut Patwardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia.
- **Key Events:**
  - **May 1934:** All India Congress Socialists' Conference held at Patna, convened by JP Narayan, presided over by Acharya Narendra Dev.
  - **October 1934:** Disillusioned by the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement, young leaders like Jay Prakash Narayan, Minu Masani, Achyut Patwardhan, and Acharya Narendra Dev formed the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in Bombay.
    - **President:** Sampurnanand
    - **General Secretary:** Jayaprakash Narayan
- **Objective:** To work within the Congress and infuse socialist ideology into the national movement.
  - Played a major role in radicalising Congress policy, e.g., Faizpur Agrarian Programme (1936).
- **Support and Role:** Jawaharlal Nehru supported the socialist bloc but did not formally join CSP.
  - CSP leaders were prominent in underground activities during the Quit India Movement (1942).
- **Programme of the Congress Socialist Party**
  - **Main Goals:** Independence and Socialism through:
    - Organising workers and peasants for both economic justice and political freedom.

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- Building mass organisations like:
    - Youth Leagues
    - Women's Wings
    - Volunteer corps

- **Stances and Activities:**
    - **Anti-Imperialism:** Opposed India's involvement in imperialist wars.
        - Demanded full transfer of power, rejected compromise.
    - **Dual Strategy:** Inside Congress: Advocated anti-imperialist policies as Congressman.
        - Outside Congress: Mobilised peasants, workers, students, youth, and women for socialist revolution.

Impact of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) on National Politics

- **Mixed Reactions Within the Congress**
    - **Right-Wing/Conservatives:** Criticized the CSP's rhetoric on confiscation of property and class war.
- **Mahatma Gandhi** rejected the idea of class struggle as contrary to his philosophy of non-violence and harmony.
- **Left-Wing Support:** Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose welcomed the CSP's formation.
    - However, neither officially joined the CSP.
- **Strengthening of the National Movement**
    - CSP was active in mobilizing peasants.
    - Leaders like **Prof. N.G. Ranga, Indulal Yagnik, and Swami Sahajanand Saraswati** played key roles.
    - Led to the formation of the All-India Kisan Sabha (1936, Lucknow).

Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialism

- **Democratic Socialist:** He favored democratic means to achieve socialism.
    - Advocated Fabian Socialism—gradual reform through democratic institutions rather than revolution.

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- **Popularized Socialist Thought:** Encouraged youth involvement in socialist ideas.
    - Though he never joined the Congress Socialist Party, he gave it moral and ideological support.
- **Congress Resolution on Socialism:** Under Nehru's leadership, the Congress adopted the goal of a "Socialistic Pattern of Society" at its Avadi Session (1955).

Subhas Chandra Bose and Socialism

- **Radical Leadership within Congress:** Advocated for stronger and more aggressive anti-imperialist actions.
    - As Congress President (1938), he initiated the formation of the National Planning Committee, chaired by Nehru, to plan India's economic development.
- **Formation of Forward Bloc (1939):** After ideological and political differences with Gandhi and the Congress leadership, he formed the Forward Bloc along with other socialist leaders.

Working Class Movements

- **Formation of Labour Organizations**
    - **1870:** Sasipada Banerjee founded the Working Men's Club.
        - Launched a newspaper called 'Bharat Shramjeevi' to raise worker issues.
    - **1878:** Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengalee drafted a Labour Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council seeking better working conditions.
    - **1880:** N.M. Lokhandey set up the Bombay Mill and Millhands Association, one of the first organized labour associations.
        - Started a worker-oriented paper, 'Deenbandhu'
        - It was due to him that the government declared Sunday as a Holiday.
- **Early Worker Protests:**
    - **1899:** First major railway strike on the Indian Peninsula Railways.

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- Supported by Bal Gangadhar Tilak through his newspapers Kesari and Mahratta.

- **Labour Participation in the Swadeshi Movement**
  - **1905-1911 (Swadeshi Period):** Workers began linking labour rights with nationalist goals.
  - Leaders like Ashwini Banerjee, Prabhat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri, Premtosh Bose, and Apurba Kumar Ghosh organized mass strikes in:
    - Government Press
    - Railways
    - Jute Industries

Emergence and Growth of Trade Unions in India

- **Causes for Emergence (Post-World War I):** Economic hardship: Rising prices and declining real wages.
  - Industrial expansion: Increased demand for goods led to growth in industries.
  - Influence of global events: Inspiration from the Russian Revolution (1917).
  - Political awakening: Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement mobilized masses, including workers.
- **Formation of AITUC (1920)**
  - **Date:** 31 October 1920
  - **Organisation:** All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)
  - **Founders:**
    - **President:** Lala Lajpat Rai
    - **General Secretary:** Dewan Chaman Lal
    - **Supporters:** C.R. Das, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, C.F. Andrews, Sarojini Naidu, V.V. Giri, J.M. Sengupta
- **Trade Union Act (1926):** Legal recognition for trade unions.
  - **Immunities granted:** Protection from civil and criminal liability for legitimate union activities.
  - **Restrictions:** Political activities of unions were regulated.
  - **A registration system** was introduced for trade unions.
- **Communist Influence & Bombay Textile Strike (1928)**

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- **Strike led by:** Girni Kamgar Union
- **Key leaders:** S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, P.C. Joshi, Sohan Singh Joshi
- **Impact:** Marked the growing Communist influence in labour movements.

- **Government Response**
  - **Public Safety Ordinance (1929):** Aimed to suppress radical political activities.
  - **Trade Disputes Act (1929):**
    - Courts of Inquiry and Consultation Boards were made compulsory for disputes.
    - Strikes in public utilities (railways, posts, electricity, etc.) were declared illegal unless 1-month prior notice was given.
  - It was only after this that Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw non-lethal bombs in the Assembly.
- **Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929):** The British arrested 31 labour leaders, including Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, Joglekar, Philip Spratt, Ben Bradley, and Shaukat Usmani.
  - The trial gained international attention, but significantly weakened the working-class movement in India.
- **Split in the Trade Union Movement:**
  - After 1930, ideological differences emerged:
    - Communist-led unions promoted class struggle.
    - Moderates like N.M. Joshi adopted a corporatist approach.
  - N.M. Joshi formed the All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF) in 1931 as a moderate alternative.
- **Reunification and Leftist Influence:** In 1935, efforts were made to reunify the trade union movement.
  - AITUC was reaffirmed by Communists, Congress Socialists, and Left-leaning nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose.

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- **Impact of the Second World War:** Initially, Indian workers opposed the war, viewing it as imperialist.
    - After the USSR joined the Allies, leftist unions supported the war.
    - By 1945, resistance resumed:
        - Dock workers in Bombay and Calcutta refused to load ships supplying Allied forces in Indonesia, showing solidarity with anti-colonial struggles in Asia.

Labour Legislations

The first commission was appointed in 1875, although the first Factory Act was eventually passed in 1881.

- **Indian Factory Act, 1881:** Employment of children under 7 years of age was prohibited.
    - Working hours were restricted to 9 hours per day for children.
    - Children were to get four holidays in a month.
    - Hazardous machinery to be properly fenced off.
- **Indian Factory Act, 1891:** Reduced maximum working hours for children to 7 hours a day.
    - Fixed maximum working hours for women at 11 hours per day with a one-and-a-half-hour interval (working hours for men were left unregulated),
    - Provided a weekly holiday for all.
- **Note:** But these laws did not apply to British-owned tea and coffee plantations, where the labour was exploited ruthlessly and treated like slaves.

Kisan Sabha Movement

- **Origin and Early Phase:** The Kisan Sabha Movement began in Bihar under the leadership of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, who founded the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) in 1929.
    - The aim was to mobilize peasants against zamindari oppression, especially the attack on their occupancy rights.
- **Expansion of the Movement:** In Andhra Pradesh (1927), peasants protested Zamindari exploitation and oppressive forest laws.

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- Similar anti-Zamindari struggles emerged in Uttar Pradesh and other regions.

- **Formation of All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS):** The All India Kisan Sabha was formed in April 1936 at the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress.
  - Swami Sahajanand Saraswati was elected as its first president.
- **Support and Ideological Base:** AIKS attracted radical forces within and outside the Congress.
  - It was supported by the Congress Socialist Party and later by the Communist Party of India.

Peasants Movements

Tebhaga Movement (1940s)

Background

- **Region:** Undivided Bengal (notably Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Malda).
- **Demand:** Sharecroppers (bargadars) wanted two-thirds (tebhaga) of the produce, instead of the traditional one-half, from jotedars (intermediary landowners).
- **Storage Demand:** Bargadars also demanded that the crop be stored in their own godowns, not the landlords'.

Causes

- **Power of Jotedars:** Controlled land, markets, and moneylending, exploiting poor peasants.
- **Floud Commission:** Supported the sharecroppers' demands, giving moral legitimacy.
- **Support:** Organised by All India Kisan Sabha, influenced by Leftist and Communist ideology.

Events

- Started in late 1946, escalated by January 1947 after the Bengal Bargadars Temporary Regulation Bill supported their demands.
- The movement spread rapidly in rural Bengal, with growing peasant participation.
- **Suppression & Outcome:**

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- **Repression:** The movement faced brutal police suppression and rural terror at the request of jotedars.
- **Collapse:** The movement was crushed by mid-1947.
- **Partial Success:** Around 40% of sharecroppers were eventually granted tebhaga rights voluntarily by landlords.

Significance

- Marked a shift in peasant consciousness, highlighting class struggle.
- Demonstrated the influence of leftist politics in agrarian movements.
- Showed that organized rural resistance could challenge exploitative structures.

Telangana Movement (1946)

- **Overview: The** Largest Peasant Guerrilla Uprising in modern Indian history.
  - **Affected: ~3,000 villages, ~3 million people in the Hyderabad princely state.**

Causes

- **Feudal Oppression:** By deshmukhs, jagirdars, and zamindars through:
  - Forced labour (vethi),
  - Illegal extractions,
  - Denial of civil liberties.
- **Ethnic-Linguistic Domination:** Urdu-speaking Muslim elite ruling over the majority of Telugu, Marathi, and Kannada-speaking Hindus.
- **Lack of Political Freedom** under the autocratic Nizam's rule.

Course of the Movement

- **Started:** July 1946.
- **Leadership:** Communist Party of India (CPI), mobilized peasants through Andhra Mahasabha.
- **Village Sanghams:** Formed to organize resistance.
- **Tactics:** Guerrilla warfare using lathis, slings, and chilli powder.
- **Target:** Razakars (Nizam's paramilitary force) were defeated in rural areas.

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- **End (Operation Polo): The** Movement fizzled out after the Indian Army integrated Hyderabad in 1948.

Achievements

- Abolition of Forced Labour.
- Increase in Agricultural Wages.
- Restoration of Seized Lands.
- Paved the way for the formation of Andhra Pradesh on linguistic lines.

Nature of Peasant Movements / Key Features

- **Non-violent and Nationalist Orientation:** Satyagraha, civil disobedience, and no-rent/no-tax campaigns.
- **Formation of Peasant Bodies:** E.g., Kisan Sabhas, Karshaka Sanghams.
- **Religious Unity:** Many movements saw Hindu-Muslim unity, unlike some national movements.
- **National Integration:** Movements helped national leadership (esp. Congress) connect with rural issues.
    - **Congress's first rural session:** Faizpur (1936) under Jawaharlal Nehru.

Significance

- The Telangana movement had many positive achievements as
    - Forced labour disappeared,
    - Agricultural wages were raised
    - Illegally seized lands were restored.

Constitutional Developments in Colonial India

Act for the Better Government of India, 1858

- **Overview:** The Government of India Act 1858 was passed on August 2, 1858. It ended the rule of the British East India Company and led to the beginning of the rule of the British Crown.
- **Provisions of the Government of India Act, 1858:**
    - **Termination of Company's Rule:** The Company's territories in India were to be vested in the Queen, and the Company ceased

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to exercise its power and control over these territories. India was to be governed in the Queen's name.

- **Secretary of State for India:** An office of Secretary of State was established. A Council of 15 members was appointed to assist the Secretary of State for India.
  - The **council became an advisory body in Indian affairs** (did not have executive power). For all the communications between Britain and India, the Secretary of State became the real channel.
- **Viceroy:** The office of Governor-General of India was given a new designation of Viceroy. The crown was empowered to appoint the Viceroy and the Governors of the presidencies.
- **Independent Status for Indian States:** This act also ended the Doctrine of Lapse. Princely States were allowed to have internal autonomy, subject to the acceptance of British suzerainty.

- **Significance of the Act:**
  - The Government of India Act 1858 was **largely confined to the improvement of the administrative machinery** by which the Indian Government was to be supervised and controlled in England.
  - It **did not alter in any substantial way the system of government** that prevailed in India.

Indian Councils Act, 1861

- **Overview:** The Indian Council Act of 1861 was passed to narrow the gap between the British government and the Indian people. It was required to reverse the excessive legislative centralisation done by the Charter Act of 1833 and that is why the Council Act tried to reform legislative functioning in India.
- **Provisions of the Indian Councils Act, 1861:**
  - **Expansion of Executive Council:** A fifth member (Legal expert) was added. Now there were five members (home, military, law, revenue, and finance).

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- **Legislative Council Expanded:** The Governor-General's Council was enlarged. Now, 6-12 additional members (nominated by the Governor-General) were added. They were appointed for 2 years.
  - The legislative council had an advisory role.
- **Portfolio System:** Lord Canning, the portfolio system was recognised. Thus, the foundation of the Cabinet Government was laid.
- **Introduction of Ordinances:** The power of ordinance was also given to the Viceroy without the council's concurrence during emergencies.
- **Indian Members to Council:** Lord Canning nominated three Indians to the Council in 1862, namely, the Raja of Benares, the Maharaja of Patiala, and Sir Dinkar Rao.
  - Even though Indians were nominated, there was no statutory provision for the inclusion of Indians in it.
- **Veto on Specific Bills:** Any bill related to public revenue or debt, military, religion, or foreign affairs could not be passed without the Governor-General's assent.
- **Bombay and Madras:** The legislative powers of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were restored.
- **Legislative Council in Other Provinces:** There was a provision under which legislative councils could be formed in other provinces as well.
  - Legislative councils were formed
    - North-West Frontier Province in 1886,
    - Punjab and Burma in 1897.

- **Limitations of the Act:**
  - The Act of 1861 **did not introduce representative government** in India as the Councils had limited functions and only privileged people were appointed in these Councils.
  - There was **no demarcation in the jurisdiction of central and local legislatures**.

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Indian Councils Act, 1892

- **Background:** The Indian Councils Act, 1892 was passed due to the pressure created by the political activities in India as well as the foundation of the Indian National Congress (INC).
- **Provisions of the Act:**
    - **Central Legislature:** The Act provided for an additional member in the Central Legislative Council. The number varied from 10 to 16. Around two-fifths of the total members of the Council were to be non-officials.
    - **Budget Discussion powers:** The members could ask questions on the budget, but had to give notice of 6 days for it. They could not ask supplementary questions.
    - **Principle of Election:** The principle of election was introduced under this act. Members were recommended to Provincial Councils by district courts, universities, municipalities, etc.
    - **Legislative Council Powers:** The legislative councils were empowered to make new laws and repeal old laws with the permission of the Governor-General.
- **Significance:** The Indian Councils Act of 1892 increased financial accountability of the British government and gave opportunity to the Indian leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta to present the Indian point of view.
- **Limitations:** The functions of legislative councils were restrictive in nature and the principle of direct elections was not introduced.

Indian Councils Act, 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms)

"Please remember, in granting separate electorates we are sowing the dragon's teeth and the harvest will be bitter" - John Morley (Secretary of State for India)

- **Provisions of the Act:**
    - **Expansion of Legislative Councils: The** Central Legislative Council expanded from 16 to 60 members. Provincial councils also increased in size.
    - **Four Categories of Members:**

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- Ex-officio members - Governor-General and Executive Council.
- Nominated official members - Government officials.
- Nominated non-official members - Not in government service.
- Elected members - Indirectly elected by an electoral college.

- **Indirect Elections:** Local bodies elected electoral colleges, which elected members of provincial councils; these, in turn, elected members to the Central Council.
- **Provincial Majority:** In the provincial councils, a non-official majority was allowed.
- **Separate Electorates:** Introduced for Muslims, allowing them to elect their own representatives. This institutionalized communal representation.
- **Legislative Powers:** Members could discuss budgets, move resolutions, and ask supplementary questions, but could not debate foreign policy or princely states.
- **Indian Inclusion in Governance:** Satyendra Prasanna Sinha became the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Two Indians were nominated to the Secretary of State's Council.

- **Limitations:**
  - **Not Truly Representative:** Narrow franchise, indirect elections, and limited legislative powers made representative government ineffective. Real power remained with the British administration.
  - **Institutionalized Communalism: The** Introduction of separate electorates for Muslims fostered communal divisions.
  - **Critical Opinions:** Mahatma Gandhi: Called the reforms "our undoing."
    - K.M. Munshi: Said they "perpetuated division" and encouraged partisanship over citizenship.

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- **No Real Power Transfer:** The reforms were largely symbolic, offering "the shadow rather than the substance" of self-government.
- **Ineffective Electoral System:** The highly indirect process of elections disconnected the common people from legislative participation, reducing democratic legitimacy.

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Government of India Act, 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms)

- **Provisions:**
  - **Introduction of Dyarchy in Provinces:** Administration was divided into two parts:
    - **Reserved Subjects:** Handled by the Governor and Executive Councillors. Included law and order, finance, land revenue, irrigation, etc. These councillors were not responsible to the legislature.
    - **Transferred Subjects:** Administered by ministers chosen from the elected members of the legislative council. Included education, health, local government, excise, industry, etc.
  - **Bicameral Legislature at the Centre:** For the first time, a bicameral legislature was introduced:
    - **Legislative Assembly (Lower House):** Tenure of 3 years. The Governor-General could nominate members from Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and labour groups.
    - **Council of State (Upper House):** Functioned alongside the Assembly with similar powers, except in financial matters where the Assembly had primacy.
  - **Dispute Resolution Mechanisms:** In case of disagreements between the two houses, mechanisms like Joint Committees, Joint Conferences, and Joint Sittings were introduced.

- **Division of Subjects (Two Lists):** Administration was split into two lists:
  - **Central List:** Managed by the Central Government.
  - **Provincial List:** Managed by the Provincial Governments.
    - Provincial and Central budgets were also separated.
- **Governor-General's Executive Council:** Provision for three Indian members in the six-member Executive Council of the Governor-General.
- **Powers of the Governor-General:** No bill could become law without the Governor-General's assent.
  - He could enact laws without legislative approval, issue ordinances, and certify rejected bills.
- **Franchise and Communal Representation:** Restricted franchise - no universal adult suffrage was introduced
  - Communal representation was extended to Sikhs, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians.
  - Some Indian women gained voting rights for the first time.
- **Public Service Commission:** For the first time, the Act provided for the establishment of a Public Service Commission in India (established in 1926).

Government of India Act, 1935

"[This Act is] a machine with strong brakes but no engine." - Jawaharlal Nehru
"[The Act is] thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad, and totally unacceptable." - M. A. Jinnah

- **Provisions:**
  - **Proposed All India Federation:** Envisaged a federation of 11 British Indian provinces, 6 Chief Commissioners' Provinces, and princely states.
    - Accession of princely states was voluntary, while British provinces' participation was compulsory.

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        - The federation was never implemented due to lack of accession from princely states.
    - **Provincial Autonomy:** Dyarchy was abolished at the provincial level.
        - Provinces were granted autonomous powers in administration. Governors were to act with the advice of ministers responsible to provincial legislatures.
    - **Bicameralism in Provinces:** Bicameral legislatures were introduced in six provinces: Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Assam, and United Provinces.
    - **Diarchy at the Centre:** Introduced diarchy at the central level (reversing the 1919 model).
    - **Federal subjects were split into:**
        - **Reserved Subjects:** Defence, foreign affairs, tribal areas, etc.—controlled by the Governor-General and counsellors, not responsible to the legislature.
        - **Transferred Subjects:** Handled by the Council of Ministers (max 10), answerable to the legislature. Included education, health, forests, etc.
- **Limitations**
    - **Flawed Federation Scheme:** The proposed All India Federation attempted to unite autocratic princely states with semi-democratic British provinces, creating a structurally incompatible union.
        - The process for forming the federation was complex and impractical, rendering it unworkable.
    - **Preferential Treatment to Princes:** Accession was voluntary for princely states but compulsory for British provinces, leading to an imbalance.
        - Princes received undue advantages, such as nominated seats and disproportionate representation, allowing them to act as obstacles to nationalist progress.

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- **Excessive Central Control:** The Governor-General and Governors retained wide overriding powers, including veto, ordinance powers, and authority to dismiss ministries.
  - They could override elected legislatures and assume dictatorial powers during perceived constitutional breakdowns, undermining democratic governance.
- **Restricted Legislative Authority:** Legislatures operated under significant constraints; many subjects remained beyond their control, limiting real power and accountability.
- **Continuation of Dyarchy at the Centre:** Despite widespread criticism of dyarchy in the provinces under the 1919 Act, it was reintroduced at the Centre.
  - Key departments like Defence and External Affairs, which consumed large portions of the budget, were kept under the Reserved category, controlled solely by the Governor-General.
- **Dominance of British Parliament:** India's status remained that of a British dependency, with no real sovereignty.
- **Communal Division and 'Divide and Rule' Policy:** The Act extended separate electorates for minorities, including Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and others, worsening communal divisions.
  - This reinforced the British policy of "Divide and Rule", weakening national unity and harmony.

- **Significance:**
  - **Foundation of the Indian Constitution:** The Act served as the blueprint for the Constitution of independent India.
  - **Spirit of Cooperation:** Lord Linlithgow, then Viceroy, described the reforms as a "bold experiment in representative self-government", aimed at replacing imperial control with partnership and cooperation within the British Commonwealth.

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Indian Independence Act, 1947

- **Background:** Passed by British Parliament on July 5, 1947; received royal assent on July 18, 1947; came into effect on August 15, 1947.
- **Provision:**
    - **Created two independent dominions:** India and Pakistan, effective August 15, 1947.
    - **Each dominion has a Governor-General responsible** for the Act's implementation.
    - **Constituent Assemblies** of each dominion assumed legislative powers; the Central Legislative Assembly and Council of States were dissolved.
    - Until new constitutions were adopted, governance continued under the Government of India Act, 1935.
    - Pakistan became independent on August 14, 1947, and India on August 15, 1947.

UPSC Mains PYQ

Q. Bring out the constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi during Non-Cooperation Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement. **(2021)**
Q. Since the decade of the 1920s, the national movement acquired various ideological strands and thereby expanded its social base. Discuss **(2020)**
Q. Throw light on the significance of the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi in the present times. **(2018)**

UPSC Prelims PYQs

Q. With reference to Rowlatt Satyagraha, which of the following statements is/are correct ? **(2015)**

1. The Rowlatt Act was based on the recommendations of the 'Sedition Committee'.
2. In Rowlatt Satyagraha, Gandhiji tried to utilise the Home Rule League.

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3. Demonstrations against the arrival of the Simon Commission coincided with Rowlatt Satyagraha.

Select the correct answer using the codes given below.

(a) 1 only
(b) 1 and 2 only
(c) 2 and 3 only
(d) 1, 2 and 3

Answer : (b)

Q. The 1929 Session of Indian National Congress is on significance in the history of the Freedom Movement because the: **(2014)**

(a) attainment of Self-Government was declared as the objective of the gress.
(b) Attainment of Poorna Swaraj was adopted as the goal of the Congress.
(c) Non-Cooperation Movement was launched.
(d) Decision to participate in the Round Table Conference in London was en.

Answer : (b)

Q. The people of India agitated against the arrival of the Simon Commission because: **(2013)**

(a) Indians never wanted the review of the working of the Act of 1919
(b) Simon Commission recommended the abolition of Dyarchy (Diarchy) in the Provinces
(c) There was no Indian member in the Simon Commission
(d) The Simon Commission suggested the partition of the country

Answer : (c)

Q. The Rowlatt Act aimed at: **(2012)**

(a) Compulsory economic support to war efforts.
(b) Imprisonment without trial and summary procedures for trial.

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(c) Suppression of the Khilafat Movement.

(d) Imposition of restrictions on freedom of the press.

Answer : (b)

Note: Unit-wise notes are provided before the commencement of the class. Students are requested to add any additional topics covered during the lecture. Please use the margin space or additional pages for these notes.

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